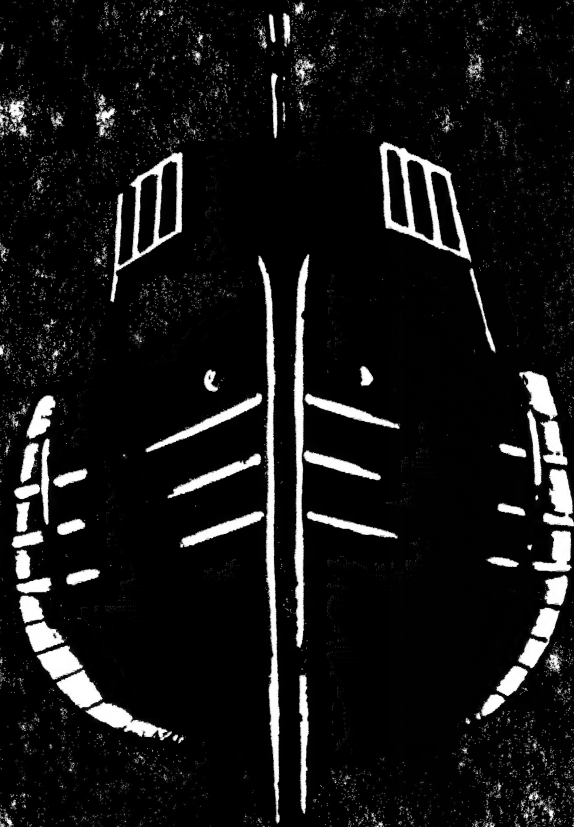


HAKLUYT



VOLUME TWO

VOYAGES

By Richard Hakluyt

INTRODUCTION BY JOHN MASEFIELD


It is difficult to think of the Elizabethan age as anything but one of high adventure; but when Richard Hakluyt was in attendance at the French court he heard that in voyaging, exploration and adventure his British countrymen were despised for their 'sluggish security'. With tremendous industry he collected *The Principall Navigations, Voiages and Discoveries of the English Nation made by Sea or over Land to the most remote and farthest distant quarters of the earth, at any time within the compass of these 1500 years* (1589). In gathering his wealth of material, Hakluyt was able to give point to the prowess of his nation in their natural element, the sea, for although England had lagged behind others in maritime discovery, she quickly outpaced Spain, Portugal and France.

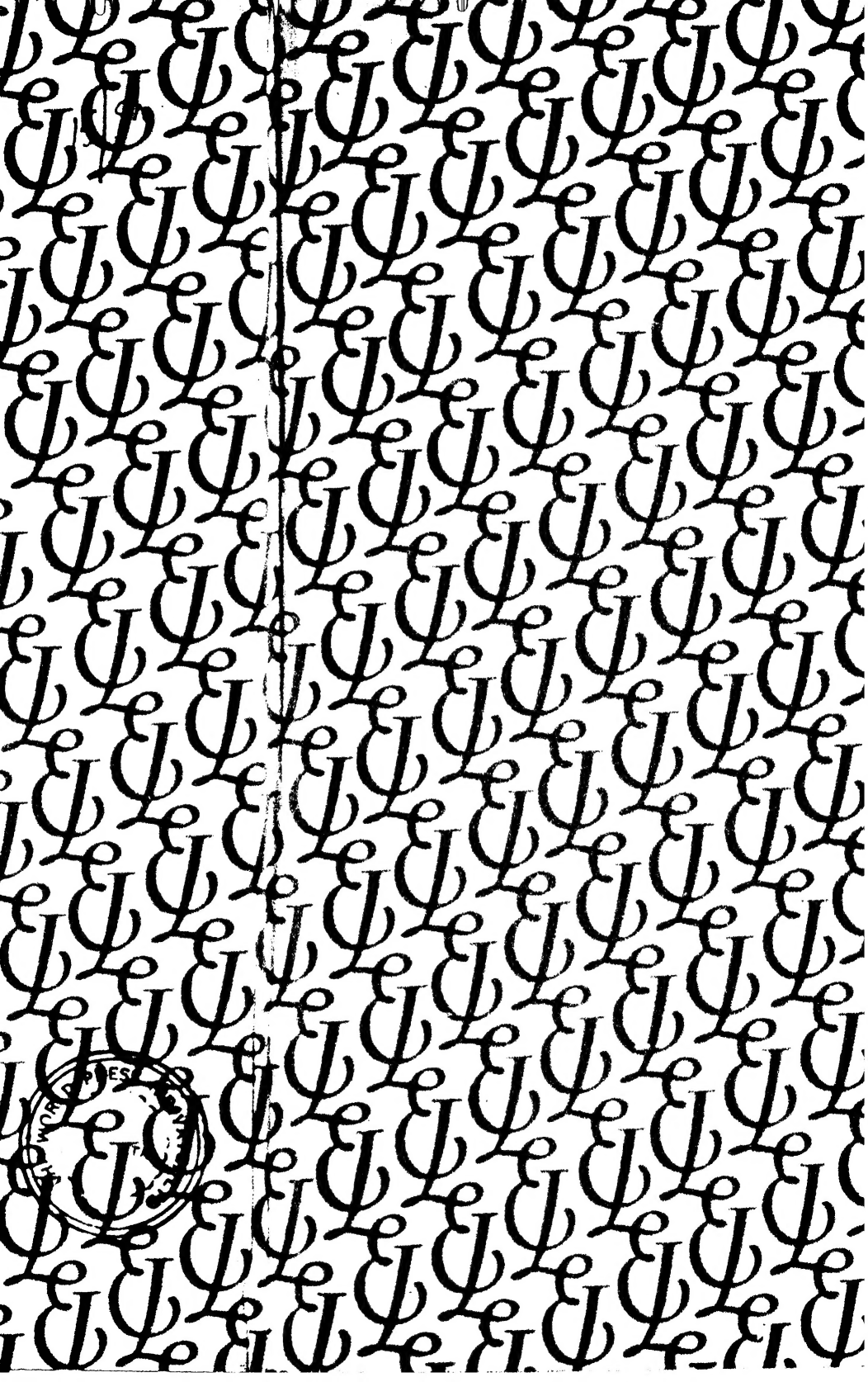
Even in an industrious age of letters Hakluyt's industry, as John Masefield points out, is extraordinary, for the author travelled many hundreds of miles to search into many libraries 'to look through vast stacks of manuscript and black letter, and to talk with many seamen and geographers before his great work could be begun'. He was not only 'industrious but wise and far-seeing'. Hakluyt erected a literary monument to the skill and daring of Elizabethan seamanship—for men put to sea under

[Continued on back flap]

Wrapper illustration by David Cobb shows an early Cog, bows on, circa 1100. Bayeux Tapestry.

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*EVERYMAN, I will go with thee,
and be thy guide,
In thy most need to go by thy side*

✦ RICHARD HAKLUYT ✦

Born c. 1553. Took holy orders and in
1593 became Archdeacon of Westminster.
Died in 1616 and buried in Westminster
Abbey.

RICHARD HAKLUYT

Voyages

IN EIGHT VOLUMES • VOLUME TWO

Introduction by
JOHN MASEFIELD, O.M.



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THE PRINCIPALL NAVIGATIONS
OF THE ENGLISH NATION

The Queenes Majesties Letters to the Emperour of Russia, requesting licence, and safe conduct for M. Anthony Jenkinson to passe thorow his kingdome of Russia, into Persia, to the Great Sophie. 1561.

ELIZABETH by the grace of God, Queene of England, &c. to the right excellent, and right mightie Prince, Lord John Basiliwich, Emperour of all Russia, &c. greeting, and most happie increase in all prosperitie. Right mightie Prince, the amitie of your Majestie towards us and our subjects is very pleasant to us to be remembred, which being begun by the goodnesse of God in the reigne of our most deare brother of happie memorie, King Edward the sixt, and afterwards, through your not onely singular humanitie, fed, and nourished, but also through your incredible goodnesse increased, and augmented, is now firmed and established, with all maner of tokens of your benevolence, that now we doubt not, but that from hencefoorth, during many ages, the same shall endure to the praise of God, to both our glories, to the publike great commoditie of our Realmes on either part, and to the private desired hope, and certeine felicitie of all our subjects. And although that this your goodnesse hath bene abundantly extended to all our subjects, that have at any time repaired into any part of your Empire, for the which wee give (as reason is) your Majestie right heartie thanks, and will againe shew the like unto yours, right willingly, whensoever opportunitie shall require; yet the abundance of your benignitie both in receiving, and also in entreteining our faithfull and beloved servant, Anthonie Jenkinson, the bringer of these our letters, is unto us for him privately very thankesfull. For besides this, that in all places of your Empire, he not onely by your Majesties sufferance, but also by your commandement, enjoyed much libertie, and great friendship, your goodnesse not ceasing in this your domesticall disposition of clemencie, did right willingly, and of your

owne abundant grace, commend the same our welbeloved servant, by your letters sealed with your Imperiall seale, to sundrie forren Princes, unto whom he was minded to journey: which your magnificence did purchase unto him happily, according to his desire, both passage without all perill, through your notable credit, and also atchieving of his journey through your commendation. Thereforelike as these your duplicated benevolences, both that one generally exhibited to all our subjects frequenting that your Realme, and also this the other extended apart to this our right faithfull servant Anthonie Jenkinson, is right assuredly fastened in our remembrance, not onely for a perpetuall and gratefull memoriall, but also for a mutuall and meet compensation: so we desire of your Majestie, to vouchsafe from hencefoorth to conserve and continue the geminate disposition of your benevolences, both generally to all our subjects, and also privately to this our beloved servant. And we doubt not, but that at our request, you will againe graciously shew unto the same Anthony, now admitted into our service, the like favor as heretofore your Majesty of your meere motion did exhibite unto him, being then a private person. And therefore we desire your Majesty eftsoones to grant to the same our servant, your letters of licence, pasport, & safe conduct, through the tenour, authority, and helpe whereof, he, his servants, together with their merchandises, baggages, horses, and goods whatsoever, that shall be brought in, or carried out, by or thorow all your empire, kingdome, dominions, and provinces, may surely and freely journey, go, passe, repasse, depart, and there tary so long as it shall please him: and from thence returne whensoever it shall seeme good to him or his: and as we doubt not, but that your Majesty in the goodnesse of your nature will graciously and abundantly grant all these good offices of humanity, so we do heartily desire that your Majesty wil likewise vouchsafe to commend the same our servant, together with all his goods, by your letters to other forren Princes, and specially to the great Sophy, and Emperour of Persia, into whose empire and jurisdictions the same our servant purposeth with his for to journey, chiefly for triall of forren merchandises.

We therefore doe trust that all these our demands shall tend, and have effect, according to the hope of our

servant, and to our expectation, for your wealth, for the commodity of both our subjects, lucky to him, thankfull to us, acceptable to your Majesty, and very profitable to our subjects on either part. God grant unto your Majesty long and happy felicity in earth, and everlasting in heaven. Dated in our famous city of London the 25 day of the moneth of April, in the yeere of the creation of the world 5523, and of our Lord God Jesus Christ, 1561, and of our reigne the third.

The Queenes Majesties Letters to the great Sophy of Persia, sent by M. Anthonie Jenkinson, 1561.

ELIZABETH, by the grace of God, Queene of England, &c. To the right mightie, and right victorious Prince, the great Sophie, Emperour of the Persians, Medes, Parthians, Hircans, Carmanians, Margians, of the people on this side, and beyond the river of Tygris, and of all men, and nations, betweene the Caspian sea, and the gulse of Persia, greeting, and most happie increase in all prosperitie. By the goodnesse of the Almightye God it is ordeined, that those people, which not onely the huge distance of the lands, and the invincible widenesse of the seas, but also the very quarters of the heavens do most farre separate, and set asunder, may neverthesse through good commendation by writing, both ease, and also communicate betweene them, not onely the conceived thoughts, or deliberations, and gratefull offices of humanitie, but also many commodities of mutuall intelligence. Therefore whereas our faithfull, and right welbeloved servant Anthonie Jenkinson, bearer of these our letters, is determined with our licence, favour, and grace, to passe out of this our Realme, and by Gods sufferance to travell even into Persia, and other your jurisdictions: we minde truely with our good favour, to set forward, and advance that his right laudable purpose: and that the more willingly, for that this his enterprise is onely grounded upon an honest intent, to establish trade of merchandise with your subjects, and with other strangers traffiking in your realmes. Wherefore we have thought good, both to write to your Majestie, and also to desire the same, to vouchsafe at our request, to grant to our sayd servant, Anthonie Jenkinson, good pasports, and safe conducts, by meanes, and authoritie whereof, it may be free and lawfull for

him, together with his familiars, servants, cariages, merchandise, and goods whatsoever, thorow your Realmes, Dominions, Jurisdctions, and Provinces, freely, and without impeachment, to journey, go, passe, repasse, and tary so long as he shall please, and from thence to returne whensoever he or they shall thinke good. If these holy dueties of entertainment, and sweet offices of naturall humanitie may be willingly concluded, sincerely embraced, and firmly observed betweene us, and our Realmes, and subjects, then we do hope that the Almighty God will bring it to passe, that of these small beginnings, greater moments of things shall hereafter spring, both to our furniture and honours, and also to the great commodities, and use of our peoples: so it will be knowne that neither the earth, the seas, nor the heavens, have so much force to separate us, as the godly disposition of naturall humanity, and mutuall benevolence have to joyne us strongly together. God grant unto your Majestie long and happy felicity in earth, and perpetuall in heaven. Dated in England, in our famous citie of London, the 25 day of the moneth of April, in the yere of the creation of the world, 5523, and of our Lord and God Jesus Christ, 1561, and of our reigne the third.

A remembrance given by us the Governours, Consuls, and Assistants of the company of Merchants trading into Russia, the eight day of May 1561, to our trustie friend Anthonie Jenkinson, at his departure towards Russia, and so to Persia, in this our eight journey.

FIRST you shall understand that we have laden in our good ship, called the Swallow, one Chest, the keyes whereof we doe heere deliver you, and also a bill, wherein are written particularly the contents in the sayd Chest, and what every thing did cost: and because, as you know, the sayd Chest is of charge, we desire you to have a speciall regard unto it, and when God shall send you unto Mosco, our mindes and will is, that you, with the advise of our Agents there, doe appoint some such presents for the Emperour and his sonne, either wine, cloth of golde, scarlet, or plate, as to your good discretion shall be thought meet, and when you have delivered unto him the Queenes Majesties Letters, and our sayd present in the name of the Company, we thinke

it good that you make your humble sute unto his Highnesse in our name, to get his licence or safe conduct for you and all other our servants or Agents at all times hereafter with such wares and merchandise as you at this time, or they hereafter at all other times shall thinke good to passe out of his dominions towards Tartaria, Persia, or other places, and also to returne unto Mosco with such wares and merchandises as you shall bring or send from any land or countrey that is not in his dominions, and if it be thought good by you and our Agents there to make composition with the emperor or his officers for some certeine custome or tole upon such goods as we shall passe that way, to the intent we might be the better favored, we refer it to your descretion, foreseeing that ye opening of this matter be not prejudiciall unto our former privileges.

And for the sale of our cloth of gold, plate, pearles, saphyres, and other jewels, we put our trust and confidence in you principally to sell them for ready money, time to good debtors, or in barter for good wares, so that you make our other Agents privy how and for what price you sell any of the premisses, and also deliver such summes of money, billes or wares, as you shall receive, unto our said Agents: thinking good further, that if you perceive that the plate or other jewels, or any part thereof will not be sold for profit before your departure from the Mosco, that then you cause them to be safe packed, and set order they may be sent hither againe in our shippes the next yeere, except you perceive that there may be some profit in carrying some part of them into Persia, which we would not to be of any great value.

We have also laden in the sayd Swallow and the other two ships 80 fardles, conteining 400 kersies, as by ye invoice doth appeare, which fardles be packed, & appointed to be caried into Persia: neverthelesse, if you chance to finde good sales for them in the Mosco, we thinke it were good to sell part of them there, and to cary the lesse quantity with you, because we be uncertaine what vent or sale you shall finde in Persia or other places where you shall come.

If you obtaine the Emperours licence to passe out of his dominions, and to returne, as aforesaid, & that you perceive you may safely do the same, our minde is, that at such time as you thinke best and most convenient

for that purpose, you do appoint so many, and such of our hired servants or apprentices as you thinke necessary & meet for our affaires, and may best be spared, to go with you in your said voyage, whereof we would one to be such as you might make privy of all your doings for divers considerations and causes that may happen: which servants and apprentices, we will and command, by this our remembrance, to be obedient unto you as unto us, not onely to goe with you and to doe such things as you command them in your presence, but also to goe unto such countreys or places as you shall appoint them unto, either with wares or without wares, & there to remaine and continue so long as you shall thinke good, and if they or any of them will refuse to do such things as you do appoint them, as aforesaid, or that any of them (be he hired servant or apprentice) do misuse himselfe by any maner of disobedience or disorder, and will not by gentle and faire meanes be reformed, we will that you send him backe to the Mosco, with straight order that he may be sent from thence hither, & let us have knowledge of his evill behavior, to the intent that if he be a hired servant we may pay him his wages according to his service, and if he be an apprentice we may use him according to his deserts.

We will also that you take with you such karsies, scarlet, and other clothes, or any other such wares of ours, as you shall thinke good, and so in the name of God to take your journey towards Persia, either by the way of Astracan and Mare Caspium, or otherwise, as you shall see cause: and when God sendeth you into Persia, our minde is, that you repaire unto the great Sophy with the Queenes Majesties letters, if he be not too farre from the Caspian sea for you to travell, and that you make him such a present as you shall thinke meet, and if you passe by any other kings, princes, or governors, before or after you come to the presence of the Sophy, likewise to make them some present, as you see cause, according to their estate and dignitie, and withall to procure letters of privilege or safeconduct of the sayd Sophy or other princes in as large and ample manner as you can, for the sure establishing of further trade in merchandise by us heereafter to be made, frequented and continued in those parts, not onely that we may freely sell in all places within his dominions such

wares as we cary thither, but also buy and bring away any maner of wares or merchandise whatsoever it be, that is for our purpose and commoditie within his dominions, with free passage also for us at all times, to passe as often as we will with our goods and merchandise into any part of India or other countreys thereunto adjoyning, and in like maner to returne thorow his dominions into Russia or elsewhere.

And for the sale of our kersies or other wares that you shall have with you, as our trust is that you will doe for our most profit and commoditie: even so we referre all unto your good discretion, aswell in the sale of our sayd goods, as to make our returne in such things as you shall finde there, and thinke best for our profit. But if passage cannot be had into Persia by Astracan, or otherwise, the next Summer, which shalbe in the yeere 1562, then our minde is, that you procure to sell our kersies, & other such wares as are appointed for Persia, in the Mosco, or other the Emperours dominions, if you may sell them for any reasonable price, and then to employ your selfe with such other of your servants, as you shall thinke meet for the search of the passage by Nova Zembla, or els you to returne for England as you thinke good. Provided alwayes, that if you do perceiue or understand, that passage is like to be had into Persia the Summer folowing, which shalbe in the yere 1563, and that you can not sell our kersies in the Emperours dominions, as aforesayd, at a reasonable price: then we will rather they may be kept till the said Summer in the yeere 1563, and then you to proceed forwards upon your journey towards Persia as aforesayd. If passage into Persia cannot be obtained the next yeere, neither good hope of passage in the yeere 1563, neither yet in the meane time good sale of our kersies in the Emperours dominions, then we thinke good for you to see if you can practise to cary your said wares by safe conduct thorow Polonia, or any other wayes unto Constantinople, or els where you thinke beter sale may be had, then in Russia.

Thus have we given you to understand our meanings in this intended adventure: but forasmuch as we do consider and know, that if we should prescribe unto you any certeine way, or direct order what you should doe, we might so worke cleane contrary to our purpose and

intent: therefore knowing your approved wisdom with your experience, and also your careful and diligent minde in the achieving and bringing to good successe (by the helpe of almighty God) all things that you take in hand, we doe commit our whole affaires concerning the said adventure wholly unto your good discretion, praying God so to prosper you, as may be first for his glory, secondly for the honour and commoditie of this realme, and next for our profit, with the increase of your good name for ever.

And yet further desiring, and also most earnestly requiring you, as you tender the state of our company, that you will have a speciall regard unto the order of our houses & our servants, aswell at Colmogro and Vologda, as at Mosco, and to see and consider if any disorder be amongst our servants or apprentices, wherby you thinke we might hereafter be put to hinderance or losse of any part of our goods or privilege there, that you doe not onely see the same reformed, but also to certifie us thereof by your letter at large, as our trust is in you.

And for the better knowledge to be had in the prices and goodnes of such things as we do partly suppose you shall finde in the partes of Russia, we doe heerewith deliver you a quantitie of certeine drugges, wherby you may perceive how to know the best, and also there are noted the prices of such wares and drugges as be heere most vendible: also we deliver you heerewith one pound and one ounce weight in brasse, to the end, that you may therby, & with the bill of prices of wares, know what things be worth here. As for the knowledge of silks, we need not to give you any instructions thereof, other then you know.

And if you understand that any commoditie in Russia be profitable for us to have with you into Persia or other places, our minde is that our Agents shall either provide it for you, or deliver you money to make provision your selfe. And because the Russes say that in travelling Eastwardes from Colmogro thirty or forty dayes journey, there is the maine sea to be found, we thinke that Richard Johnson might imploy his time that way by land, and to be at Mosco time enough to goe with you into Persia: for if it be true that he may travell to the sea that way, and that he may know how many miles it is towards

the East from Colmogro, it will be a great helpe for us to finde out the straight and passage that way, if any be there to be had.

William Gerard. } Governors. { William Merike.
Thomas Lodge. } { Blase Sanders.

A compendious and briefe declaration of the journey of M. Anth. Jenkinson, from the famous citie of London into the land of Persia, passing in this same journey thorow Russia, Moscovia, and Mare Caspium, aliás Hircanum, sent and imployed therein by the right worshipfull Societie of the Merchants Adventurers, for discoverie of Lands, Islands, &c. Being begun the foureteenth day of May, Anno 1561, and in the third yere of the reigne of the Queenes Majestie that now is: this present declaration being directed and written to the foresayd Societie.

FIRST imbarcking my selfe in a good shippe of yours, named the Swallow, at Gravesend, having a faire and good winde, our anker then weyed, and committing all to the protection of our God, having in our sailing diversitie of windes, & thereby forced to direct and observe sundry courses (not here rehearsed, because you have bene thereof heretofore amply informed) on the fourteenth day of July, the yere aforesayd I arrived in the bay of S. Nicholas in Russia: and the sixe and twentieth day of the same moneth, after conference then had with your Agents there, concerning your worships affaires, I departed from thence, passing thorow the countrey of Vago, and on the eight day of August then following, I came to Vologda, which is distant from Colmogro, seven hundred miles, where I remained foure dayes, attending the arrivall of one of your boats, wherein was laden a chest of jewels with the present, by your worships appointed for the Emperors Majesty: which being arrived, and the chest received, I therewith departed toward the city of Mosco, and came thither the twentieth day of the same moneth, where I immediatly caused my comming to be signified unto the Secretary of the Imperiall Majesty, with the Queenes Highnesse letters addressed unto the same his Majestie, who informed the Emperour thereof. But his Highnesse having great affaires, and being at that present ready to be married unto a Ladie of Chircassi, of the Mahometicall law,

commanded that no stranger, Ambassadour, nor other, should come before him for a time, with further streight charge, that during the space of three dayes that the same solemne feast was celebrating, the gates of the citie should be shut, and that no person, stranger or native (certeine of his houshold reserved) should come out of their said houses during the said triumph, the cause thereof unto this day not being known.

The sixt of September following, the Emperour made a great feast, whereunto were called all Ambassadors and strangers being of reputation, and having affaires: amongst whom I was one, but being willed by the Secretary first to come, and to shew him the Queenes Majesties letters, I refused so to doe, saying I would deliver the same unto the Emperours owne hands, and not otherwise: which heard, the Secretarie answered, that unlesse he might first peruse the sayd letters, I should not come into the Emperours presence, so that I was not at the feast. Neverthelesse, I was advertised by a noble man that I was inquired for by the Emperours Majestie, although the cause of my absence was to his Majestie unknown. The next day following, I caused a supplication to be made, and presented it to his Highnesse owne hand, and thereby declared the cause of my comming, signified by the Queenes Majesties letters, and the answere of his sayd Secretary, most humbly beseeching his Grace that he would receive and accept the same her Highnesse letters, with such honour and friendship, as his letters sent by Osep Napea were received by the hands of our late Sovereigne Lady Queene Mary, or els that it would please his Highnes to dismisse me, saying that I would not deliver the said letters but unto his owne hands, for that it is so used in our country. Thus the matter being pondered, and the effect of my supplication well digested, I was forthwith commaunded to come with the said letters before his Majestie, and so delivered the same into his owne hands (with such presents as by you were appointed) according to my request, which were gratefully accepted, & the same day I dined in his Graces presence, with great entertainment. Shortly after, I desired to know whether I should be licenced to passe therow his Highnesse dominions into the land of Persia, according to the Queenes Majesties request: hereunto it was answered,

that I should not passe thither, for that his Majestic meant to send an armie of men that way into the land of Chircassi, whereby my journey should be both dangerous & troublesome, and that if I should perish therein, it would be much to his Graces dishonour, but he doubted other matters, although they were not expressed. Thus having received his answere, neither to my expectation, nor yet contentation, and there remaining a good part of the yere, having in that time solde the most part of your kersies and other wares appointed for Persia, when the time of the yeere required to returne for England, I desired pasport, and post horses for money, which was granted: but having received my pasport, ready to depart, there came unto our house there Osep Napea, who perswaded me that I should not depart that day, saying that the Emperor was not truely informed, imputing great fault to the frowardnesse of the Secretary, who was not my friend: before whom comming againe the next day, and finding the same Secretary and Osep Napea together, after many allegations and objections of things, and perceiving that I would depart, I was willed to remaine untill the Emperours Majestic were spoken with againe touching my passage: wherewith I was content, & within three dayes after sending for me, he declared that the Emperours pleasure was, that I should not onely passe thorow his dominions into Persia, but also have his Graces letters of commendations to forren princes, with certaine his affaires committed to my charge, too long here to rehearse: whereupon I appointed my selfe for the voyage, & the 15 day of March, the yeere aforesaid, I dined againe in his Majesties presence in company of an Ambassadour of Persia and others, and receiving a cup of drinke at his Majesties hands, I tooke my leave of his Highnesse, who did not onely give me letters, as aforesayd, but also committed matter of importance and charge unto me, to be done when I should arrive in those countreys whither I intended to go, and having all things in readinesse for the same voyage, I departed from the city of Mosco the 27 day of April 1562, downe by the great river of Volga, in company of the said Ambassadour of Persia, with whom I had great friendship and conference all the way downe the same river unto Astracan, where we arrived all in health the 10 day of June.

And as touching the situations of the cities, townes, castles and countreys, aswell of Mahometans as also of Gentils adjoyning to the same, whereby I passed from Mosco unto Astracan, I omit in this breuiat to rehearse, for that I heretofore have declared the same most amply unto you in my voyage to Boghar. Thus being arrived at Astracan, as is aforesayd, I repaired unto the capitaine there, unto whom I was commended from the Emperours Majesty, with great charge that he not only should ayd and succor me with all things needfull during my abode there, but also to safeconduct me with 50 gunners wel appointed in two stroogs or brigantines into the Caspian sea, until I had passed certaine dangerous places which pirats & rovers do accustome to haunt, and having prepared my barke for the sea, the Ambassador of Persia being before departed in a barke of his owne the 15 day of July, the yeere aforesayd, I and my company tooke our voyage from the sayd Astracan, and the next day at a West sunne, passed the mouth of the said river being twenty miles distant, lying next Southeast. The 18 at a Southwest sunne, we passed by three Islands being distant nine miles from the said mouth of Volga, and Southsouthwest from thence, sailing Southsouthwest the next day, at a West & by North sun we fel with the land called Challica Ostriva, being foure round Islands together, distant from the said three Islands forty miles. From thence sailing the said course the next day, we had sight of a land called Tuke, in the countrey of Tumen, where pirats and rovers do use: for feare of whom we haled off into the sea due East forty miles, and fell upon shallowes out of the sight of land, and there were like to have perished, escaping most hardly: then the 22 day we had sight of a goodly Island called Chatalet, distant from the said Challica Ostriva an hundred miles, the winde being contrary, and a stiffe gale, we were not able to seize it: but were forced to come to an anker to the leeward of the same sixe miles off in three or foure fathom water, being distant from the maine land to the Westward of us, which was called Skafcayl or Connyk a countrey of Mahometans, about miles, and so riding at two ankers a head, having no other provision, we lost one of them, the storme and sea being growen very sore, and thereby our barke was so full of leaks, that with continuall pumping we had

much adoe to keepe her above water, although we threw much of our goods overboard, with losse of our boat, and our selves thereby in great danger like to have perished either in the sea or els upon the lee shore, where we should have fallen into the hands of those wicked infidels, who attended our shipwracke: and surely it was very unlike that we should have escaped both the extremities, but onely by the power and mercy of God, for the storme continued seven dayes, to wit, untill the thirtieth day of the same moneth: and then the winde comming up at the West with faire weather, our anker weyed, and our saile displayed, lying South, the next day haling to the shore with a West sunne, we were nie a land called by the inhabitants Shyrvansha, and there we came againe to an anker, having the winde contrary, being distant from the said Chatalet 150 miles, and there we continued untill the third day of August, then having a faire winde, winding Southsoutheast, and sailing threescore miles, the next day at a Southeast sunne we arrived at a city called Derbent in the king of Hircans dominion, where comming to land, and saluting the captaine there with a present, he made to me and my company a dinner, and there taking fresh water I departed.

This city of Derbent is an ancient towne having an olde castle therein, being situated upon an hill called Castow, builded all of free stone much after our building, the walles very high and thicke, and was first erected by king Alexander the great, when he warred against the Persians and Medians, and then hee made a wall of a woonderfull height and thicknesse, extending from the same city to the Georgians, yea unto the principall city thereof named Tewflish, which wall though it be now rased, or otherwise decayed, yet the foundation remaineth, & the wall was made to the intent that the inhabitants of that countrey then newly conquered by the said Alexander should not lightly flee, nor his enemies easily invade. This city of Derbent being now under the power of the Sophy of .Persia, bordereth upon the sea, adjoyning to the foresaid land of Shalscall, in the latitude of 41 degrees. From thence sailing Southeast and Southsoutheast about 80 miles, the sixt day of August, the yere aforesaid, we arrived at our landing place called Shabran, where my barke discharged: the

goods layd on shore, and there being in my tent keeping great watch for feare of rovers, wherof there is great plenty, being field people, the governor of the said countrey named Alcan Murcy, comming unto me, entertained me very gently, unto whom giving a present, he appointed for my safegard forty armed men to watch & ward me, until he might have newes from the king of Shirvan. The 12 day of the same moneth newes did come from the king, with order that I should repaire unto him with all speed: and for expedition, aswell camels to the number of five and forty to cary my goods, as also horses for me and my company were in readinesse, so that the goods laden, and taking my journey from thence the said twelft day, on the 18 of the same moneth I came to a city called Shamaky, in the said countrey of Hircan, otherwise called Shirvan, and there the king hath a faire place, where my lodging being appointed, the goods were discharged: the next day being the 19 day, I was sent for to come to the king, named Obdolowcan, who kept his court at that time in the high mountaines in tents, distant from the said Shamaki twentie miles, to avoyd the injury of the heat: and the 20 day I came before his presence, who gently interteined me, and having kissed his hands, he bad me to dinner, and commanded me to sit downe not farre from him. This king did sit in a very rich pavillion, wrought with silke & golde, placed very pleasantly, upon a hill side, of sixteene fathom long, and sixe fathom broad, having before him a goodly fountaine of faire water: whereof he & his nobility did drinke, he being a prince of a meane stature, and of a fierce countenance, richly appavelled with long garments of silke, and cloth of gold, imbrodred with pearles and stone: upon his head was a tolipane with a sharpe ende standing upwards halfe a yard long, of rich cloth of golde, wrapped about with a piece of India silke of twentie yards long, wrought with golde, and on the left side of his tolipane stood a plume of fethers, set in a trunke of golde richly inameled, and set with precious stones: .his earerings had pendants of golde a handfull long, with two great rubies of great value, set in the ends thereof: all the ground within his pavilion was covered with rich carpets, & under himselfe was spred a square carpet wrought with silver & golde, and therupon was layd two sutable cushions.

Thus the king with his nobility sitting in his pavilion with his legs a crosse, and perceiving that it was painfull for me so to sit, his highnesse caused a stoole to be brought in, & did will me to sit thereupon, after my fashion. Dinner time then approaching, divers clothes were spread upon the ground, and sundry dishes served, and set in a ranke with divers kindes of meats, to the number of 140 dishes, as I numbred them, which being taken away with the table clothes, and others spread, a banquet of fruits of sundry kindes, with other banquetting meates, to the number of 150 dishes, were brought in: so that two services occupied 290 dishes, and at the end of the sayd dinner & banquet, the king said unto me, Quoshe quelde, that is to say, Welcome: and called for a cup of water to be drawn at a fountaine, and tasting thereof, did deliver me the rest, demanding how I did like the same, and whether there were so good in our countrey or not: unto whom I answered in such sort, that he was therewith contented: then he proponed unto me sundry questions, both touching religion, and also the state of our countreys, and further questioned whether the Emperor of Almaine, the Emperor of Russia, or the great Turke, were of most power, with many other things too long here to rehearse, to whom I answered as I thought most meet. Then he demanded whether I intended to goe any further, and the cause of my coming: unto that I answered, that I was sent with letters from the Queenes most excellent Majesty of England unto the great Sophy, to intreat friendship and free passage, and for his safeconduct to be granted unto English merchants to trade into his Segniories, with the like also to be granted to his subjects, when they should come into our countreys, to the honour and wealth of both realmes, and commodity of both their subjects, with divers other words, which I omit to rehearse. This sayd king much allowing this declaration sayd, that he would not onely give me passage, but also men to safeconduct me unto the sayd Sophy, lying from the foresayd citie of Shamaki thirtie dayes journey, up into the land of Persia, at a castle called Casbin: so departing from the king at that time, within three dayes after, being the foure and twentieth day of August the yere aforesaid, he sent for me againe: unto whom I repaired in the morning, and the king not being risen out of his bed

(for his maner is, that watching in the night, and then banketting with his women, being an hundred and forty in number, he sleepeth most in the day) did give one commandement that I should ride on hawking with many Gentlemen of his Court, and that they should shew me so much game and pastime as might be: which was done, and many cranes killed. We returned from hawking about three of the clocke at the afternoone: the king then risen, and ready to dinner, I was invited thereunto, and approching nigh to the entring in of his tent, and being in his sight, two gentlemen incountered me with two garments of that countrey fashion, side, downe to the ground, the one of silke, and the other of silke and golde, sent unto me from the king, and after that they caused me to put off my upper garment, being a gowne of blacke velvet furred with Sables, they put the sayd two garments upon my backe, and so conducted me unto the king, before whom doing reverence, and kissing his hand, he commanded me to sit not farre from him, and so I dined in his presence, he at that time being very mery, and demanding of me many questions, and amongst other, how I like the maner of their hawking. Dinner so ended, I required his highnesse safeconduct for to depart towards the Sophy, who dismissing me with great favour, and appointing his Ambassadors (which returned out of Russia) and others, to safeconduct me, he gave me at my departure a faire horse with all furniture, and custome free from thence with all my goods. So I returned to Shamaki againe, where I remained untill the sixt of October, to provide camels, horses, and other necessities for my sayd intended journey.

But now before I proceed further, I purpose to write something of this countrey of Hircan, now called Shirvan, with the townes and commodities of the same. This countrey of Hircan in times past was of great renowme, having many cities, townes, and castles in it: and the kings thereof in time of antiquity were of great power, able to make wars with the Sophies of Persia: but now it is not onely otherwise (for that the cities, townes, and castles be decayed) but also the king is subject to the sayd Sophie (although they have their proper king) and be at the commandement of the sayd Sophy, who conquered them not many yeeres passed, for their diversity in religion, and caused not onely all the nobility & gentle-

men of that countrey to be put to death, but also over and besides, rased the walles of the cities, townes, and castles of the said realme, to the intent that there should be no rebellion, and for their great terror, caused a turret of free stone and flints to be erected in the sayd city called Shamaki, and in a ranke of flints of the sayd turret, did set the heads of the sayd nobility and gentlemen, then executed. This city is distant from the sea side, with camels, seven dayes journey, but now the same being much decayed, & chiefly inhabited with Armenians, another city called Arrash, bordering upon the Georgians, is the chieftest and most opulent in the trade of merchandise, & thereabouts is nourished the most abundant growth of raw silke, and thither the Turks, Syrians, and other strangers do resort and traflicke. There be also divers good and necessary commodities to be provided & had in this sayd realme: viz. galles rough and smooth, cotton wooll, allome, and raw silke of the naturall growth of that countrey: besides, nere all kinde of spices and drugges, and some other commodities, which are brought thither from out of East India, but in the lesse quantity, for that they be not assured to have vent or utterance of the same: but the chieftest commodities be there, raw silks of all sorts, whereof there is great plenty. Not farre from the sayd city of Shamaki, there was an olde castle called Gullistone, now beaten downe by this Sophy, which was esteemed to be one of the strongest castles in the world, and was besieged by Alexander the great, long time before he could win it. And not farre from the sayd castle was a Nunry of sumptuous building, wherein was buried a kings daughter, named Ameleck Channa, who slew herselfe with a knife, for that her father would have forced her (she professing chastity) to have married with a king of Tartarie: upon which occasion the maidens of that countrey do resort thither once every yere to lament her death.

Also in the sayd countrey there is an high hill called Quiquifs, upon the toppe whereof (as it is commonly reported) did dwell a great Giant, named Arneoste, having upon his head two great hornes, and eares, and eyes like a Horse, and a taile like a Cow. It is further sayd, that this monster kept a passage thereby, untill there came an holy man, termed Haucoir Hamshe, a kinseman to one of the Sophies, who mounted the sayd hill, and

combating with the sayd Giant, did binde not onely him in chaines, but also his woman called Lamisache with his sonne named After: for which victory they of that countrey have this holy man in great reputation, and the hill at this day (as it is bruited) savoureth so ill, that no person may come nigh unto it: but whether it be true or not, I referre it to further knowledge.

Now to returne to the discourse of the proceeding in my voyage towards the great Sophie. The 6 of October in the yeere aforesayd, I with my company departed from Shamachi aforesaid, and having journeyed threescore miles, came to a towne called Yavate, wherein the king hath a faire house, with orchards and gardens well replenished with fruits of all sorts. By this towne passeth a great river called Cor, which springeth in the mountaines of the Georgians, & passing thorow the countrey of Hircania aforesayd, falleth into the Caspian or Hircan sea, at a place betweene two ancient townes called Shabran and Bachu, situate within the realme of Hircane, and from thence issueth further, passing thorow a fruitfull countrey, inhabited with pasturing people, which dwell in the Summer season upon mountaines, and in Winter they remoove into the valleyes without resorting to townes or any other habitation: and when they remoove, they doe journey in carravans or troops of people and cattell, carrying all their wives, children and baggage upon bullocks. Now passing this wilde people ten dayes journey, comming into no towne or house, the sixteenth day of October we arrived at a citie called Ardouill, where we were lodged in an hospitall builded with faire stone, and erected by this Sophies father named Ismael, onely for the succour and lodging of strangers and other travellers, wherein all men have victuals and feeding for man and horse, for three dayes and no longer. This foresayd late prince Ismael lieth buried in a faire Meskit, with a sumptuous sepulchre in the same, which he caused to be made in his life time. This towne Ardouill is in the latitude of eight and thirtie degrees, an ancient citie in the province of Aderravgan, wherein the Princes of Persia are commonly buried: and there Alexander the great did keepe his Court when he invaded the Persians. Foure dayes journey to the Westward is the citie Tebris in olde time called Tauris, the greatest citie in Persia, but not of such trade of merchandise as it hath bene,

or as others be at this time, by meane of the great invasion of the Turke, who hath conquered from the Sophie almost to the sayd citie of Tauris, which the sayd Turke once sacked, and thereby caused the Sophie to forsake the same, and to keepe his court ten dayes journey from thence, at the sayd citie of Casbin.

The 21 day we departed from Ordowil aforesayd, travelling for the most part over mountaines all in the night season, and resting in the day, being destitute of wood, and therefore were forced to use for fewell the dung of horses & camels, which we bought deare of the pasturing people. Thus passing ten dayes journey the yere aforesayd, the second day of November we arrived at the foresayd citie of Casbin, where the sayd Sophie keepeth his court, and were appointed to a lodging not farre from the kings pallace, and within two dayes after the Sophie commanded a prince called Shalli Murzey, sonne to Obdolowcan king of Shirvan aforesayd, to send for me to his house, who asked me in the name of the said Sophy how I did, and whether I were in health, and after did welcome me, and invited me to dinner, whereat I had great enterainment, and so from thence I returned to my lodging. The next day after I sent my interpreter unto the Sophies Secretarie, declaring that I had letters directed from our most gracious Sovereigne ladie the Queenes most excellent Majestie of the Realme of England, unto the sayd Sophy, and that the cause of my comming was expressed in the same letters, desiring that at convenient time I might come into his Majesties presence, who advertising the Sophy thereof, shortly after answered me that there were great affaires in hand: which being finished, I should come before his presence, willing me in the meane time to make ready my present if I had any to deliver.

At this time, the great Turkes Ambassadour arrived foure dayes before my comming, who was sent thither to conclude a perpetuall peace betwixt the same great Turke and the Sophie, and brought with him a present in golde, and faire horses with rich furnitures, and other gifts, esteemed to be woorth forty thousand pound. And thereupon a peace was concluded with joyfull feasts, triumphs and solemnities, corroborated with strong othes, by their law of Alkaron, for either to observe the same, and to live alwayes after as sworne brethren, ayding

the one the other against all princes that should warre against them, or either of them. And upon this conclusion the Sophy caused the great Turkes sonne named Baiset Soltan, a valiant Prince (who being fled from his father unto the Sophie, had remained in his Court the space of foure yeeres) to be put to death. In which time the sayd Turkes sonne had caused mortall warres betwixt the sayd Princes, and much prevailed therein: the Turke demanded therefore his sonne to be sent unto him, & the Sophy refused thereunto to consent. But now being slaine according to the Turks will, the Sophy sent him his head for a present, not a litle desired, and acceptable to the unnaturall father. Discoursing at my first arrivall with the king of Shirvan of sundry matters, and being intertained as hath bene before declared, the sayd king named Obdolocan, demaunding whether that we of England had friendship with the Turks or not: I answered, that we never had friendship with them, and that therefore they would not suffer us to passe thorow their countrey into the Sophy his dominions, and that there is a nation named the Venetians, not farre distant from us, which are in great league with the sayd Turks, who trade into his dominions with our commodities, chiefly to barter the same for raw silks, which (as we understand) come from thence: and that if it would please the sayd Sophy and other Princes of that countrey, to suffer our merchants to trade into those dominions, and to give us pasport and safe conduct for the same, as the sayd Turke hath granted to the sayd Venetians, I doubted not but that it should grow to such a trade to the profit of them as never before had bene the like, and that they should be both furnished with our commodities, and also have utterance of theirs, although there never came Turke into their land, perswading with many other wordes for a trade to be had. This king understanding the matter liked it marveilously, saying, that he would write unto the Sophy concerning the same: as he did in very deed, assuring me that the Sophy would graunt my request, and that at my returne unto him he would give me letters of safe conduct, and priviledges. The Turks Ambassadour was not then come into the land, neither any peace hoped to be concluded, but great preparation was made for warre, which was like much to have furthered my purpose, but it chanced

otherwise. For the Turks Ambassadour being arrived, and the peace concluded, the Turkish merchants there at that time present, declared to the same Ambassadour, that my comming thither (naming me by the name of Franke) would in great part destroy their trade, and that it should be good for him to perswade the Sophy not to favour me, as his Highnesse meant to observe the league and friendship with the great Turke his master, which request of the Turkish merchants the same Ambassadour earnestly preferred, and being afterwards dismissed with great honour, he departed out of the Realme with the Turks sonnes head as aforesayd, and other presents.

The 20 day of November aforesayd, I was sent for to come before the sayd Sophy, otherwise called Shaw Thomas, and about three of the clocke at afternoone I came to the Court, and in lighting from my horse at the Court gate, before my feet touched the ground, a paire of the Sophies owne shoes termed in the Persian tongue Basmackes, such as hee himselfe weareth when he ariseth in the night to pray (as his maner is) were put upon my feet, for without the same shoes I might not be suffred to tread upon his holy ground, being a Christian, and called amongst them Gower, that is, unbeleever, and uncleane: esteeming all to be infidels and Pagans which do not beleeve as they do, in their false filthie prophets, Mahomet and Murtezalli. At the sayd Court gate the things that I brought to present his Majestie with, were devided by sundry parcells to sundry servitors of the Court, to cary before me, for none of my company or servants might be suffered to enter into the Court with me, my interpreter onely excepted. Thus comming before his Majestie with such reverence as I thought meete to be used, I delivered the Queenes Majesties letters with my present, which hee accepting, demaunded of mee of what countrey of Franks I was, and what affaires I had there to doe? Unto whom I answered that I was of the famous Citie of London within the noble Realme of England, and that I was sent thither from the most excellent and gracious soveraigne Lady Elizabeth Queene of the saide Realme for to treat of friendship, and free passage of our Merchants and people, to repaire and traffique within his dominions, for to bring in our commodities, and to carry away theirs to the

honour of both princes, the mutuall commoditie of both Realmes, and wealth of the Subjects, with other wordes here omitted. He then demaunded me in what language the letters were written, I answered, in the Latine, Italian and Hebrew: well said he, we have none within our Realme that understand those tongues. Whereupon I answered that such a famous and worthy prince (as hee was) wanted not people of all nations within his large dominions to interprete the same. Then he questioned with me of the state of our Countreys, and of the power of the Emperour of Almaine, king Philip, and the great Turke, and which of them was of most power: whom I answered to his contentation, not dispraying the great Turke, their late concluded friendship considered. Then he reasoned with mee much of Religion, demaunding whether I were a Gower, that is to say, an unbeleever, or a Muselman, that is, of Mahomets lawe. Unto whom I answered, that I was neither unbeleever nor Mahometan, but a Christian. What is that, said he unto the king of the Georgians sonne, who being a Christian was fled unto the said Sophie, and he answered that a Christian was he that beleeveth in Jesus Christus, affirming him to be the Sonne of God, and the greatest Prophet. Doest thou beleeve so, said the Sophie unto me? Yea that I do, said I: Oh thou unbeleever, said he, we have no neede to have friendship with the unbeleevvers, and so willed me to depart. I being glad thereof did reverence and went my way, being accompanied with many of his gentlemen and others, and after me followed a man with a Basanet of sand, sifting all the way that I had gone within the said pallace, even from the said Sophies sight unto the court gate.

Thus I repaired againe unto my lodging, and the said night Shally Murzey sonne to the king of Hircan aforesaid, who favoured me very much for that I was commended unto him from his father, willed mee not to doubt of any thing, putting mee in hope that I should have good successe with the Sophie, and good intertainment.

Thus I continued for a time, dayly resorting unto me divers gentlemen sent by the Sophie to conferre with me, especially touching the affaires of the Emperour of Russia, and to know by what way I intended to returne into my countrey, either by the way that I came, or by the way

of Ormus, and so with the Portingals ships. Unto whom I answered, that I durst not returne by the way of Ormus, the Portingals and wee not being friendes, fully perceiving their meaning: for I was advertised that the saide Sophie meant to have warres with the Portingals, and would have charged mee that I had bene come for a spie to passe through his dominions unto the saide Portingals, thinking them and us to be all one people, and calling all by the name of Franks, but by the providence of God this was prevented.

After this the said Sophie conferred with his nobilitie and counsel concerning me, who perswaded that he should not entertaine me wel, neither dismissee me with letters or gifts, considering that I was a Franke, and of that nation that wasemie to the great Turke his brother, perswading that if he did otherwise, and that the newes thereof should come to the knowledge of the Turke, it should be a meane to breake their new league and friendship lately concluded: dissuading further because he had no neede, neither that it was requisite for him to have friendship with unbelievers, whose Countreys lay farre from him, and that it was best for him to send me with my letters unto the said great Turke for a present, which he was fully determined to have done at some meet time, meaning to send his Ambassadors unto the said great Turke very shortly after.

But the king of Hircanes sonne aforesaide, understanding this deliberation, sent a man in post unto his father, for to declare and impart the purpose unto him, who as a gracious prince, considering that I had passed through his dominions, and that I had journeyed for a good intent, did write to the Sophie al that which he understood of his said determination, & that it should not stand with his Majesties honour to doe mee any harme or displeasure, but rather to give mee good entertainment, seeing I was come into his land of my free will, and not by constraint, and that if hee used mee evil, there would few strangers resort into his countrey, which would bee greatly unto his hinderance, with many other perswasions: which after that the saide Sophie had well and throughly pondered and digested (much esteeming the same king of Hircane, being one of the valiantest princes under him and his nigh kinseman) changed his determined purpose, and the twentieth of March 1502. he sent to me a rich

garment of cloth of golde, and so dismissed me without any harme.

During the time that I sojourned at the sayde City of Casbin, divers merchants out of India came thither unto mee, with whom I conferred for a trade of spices : whereunto they answered that they would bring of all sorts so much as we would have, if they were sure of vent, whereof I did promise to assure them, so that I doubt not but that great abundance thereof may from time to time be there provided and had.

The same twentieth day of March I returned from the saide Citie of Casbin where I remayned all the Winter, having sent away all my Camels before, and the thirtieth day I came to the saide Citie of Ardouil, and the fifteenth of April unto Zavaf aforesayd, where king Obdowkan was at that present, who immediatly sent for me, and demaunding of me many questions, declared that if it had not bene for him, I had bene utterly cast away, and sent to the great Turke for a present by the Sophie, through the evill perswasion of his wicked counsell, that the Zieties and holy men were the chiefe and principal procurers and moovers thereof : but the Sophie himselfe ment mee much good at the first, and thought to have given me good entertainment, and so had done, had not the peace and league fortun'd to have bene concluded betweene them and the great Turke. Neverthesse, sayd he, the Sophie hath written unto me to entertaine you well, and you are welcome into my Countrey, and so he intreated mee very gently, in whose Court I remained seven dayes, and obtained of him letters of safe conductes and priviledges in your names to bee free from paying custome, which I delivered unto your servants Thomas Alcocke and George Wrenne, at their departure towards Persia for your affaires : and his highnesse did give mee two garments of silke, and so dismissed me with great favour, sending with me his Ambassadour againe unto the Emperour of Russia, and committed the chiefeest secret of his affaires unto me, to declare the same unto the Emperours Majestie at my returne : and thus departing the tenth day of April, I came to the City of Shamachi, and there remayning certaine dayes for provision of Camels downe to the Sea side, I sent from thence before men to repaire my Barke, and to make her in a readinesse. And during my abode in Shammachi, there came unto me

an Armenian sent from the king of Georgia, who declared the lamentable estate of the same king, that being enclosed betwixt those two cruell tyrants and mightie princes, the said great Turke and the Sophie, hee had continuall warres with them, requiring for the love of Christ and as I was a Christian, that I would send him comfort by the said Armenian, and advise how he might send his Ambassadour to the sayd Emperour of Russia, and whether I thought that he would support him or no: and with many other wordes required me to declare his necessitie unto the same Emperour at my returne: adding further that the said king would have written unto me his minde, but that hee doubted the safe passage of his messenger. Unto whom I did likewise answere by word of mouth, not onely perswading him to sende his Ambassadour to Russia, not doubting but that hee should finde him most honourable and inclined to helpe him, but also I directed him his way how the sayde king might send by the Countrey of Chircassi, through the favour of Teneruk king of the sayd Countrey, whose daughter the said king had lately married. And thus dismissing the saide Armenian, within two dayes after I sent Edward Cleark your servaunt unto the Citie of Arrash, where the most store of Silkes is to be had, giving him Commission to have passed further into the saide Countrey of Georgia, and there to have repaired unto the sayde king. And after my commendations premised, and my minde declared to have pursued for safeconduct of the same Prince for our Merchants to trade into his dominions, and that obtained to have returned againe with speede. The same your servaunt journeying to the sayd Citie of Arrash, and there finding certaine Merchants Armenians, which promised to goe to the sayd City of Georgia, comming to the borders thereof, was perceived by a Captaine there, that he was a Christian, and thereupon demaunded whither he went, and understanding that he could not passe further without great suspition, answered that he came thither to buy Silkes, and shewed the king of Hircaenes letters which hee had with him, and so returned backe againe, and the fifteenth of April came to Shamachi: from whence I departed the sixteene of the same moneth, and the one and twentie therof comming to the Seaside, and finding my barke in a readinesse, I caused your goods to be laden, and there attended a faire winde.

But before I proceede any further to speake of my returne, I intend with your favours somewhat to treat of the countrey of Persia, of the great Sophie, and of his countrey, lawes and religion.

This land of Persia is great and ample, devided into many kingdomes and provinces, as Gillan, Corasan, Shirvan, and many others having divers Cities, townes and castles in the same. Every province hath his severall King, or Sultan, all in obedience to the great Sophie. The names of the chiefeest Cities be these: Teveris, Casbin, Keshan, Yesse, Meskit, Heirin, Ardouill, Shamachi, Arrash with many others. The countrey for the most part toward the sea side is plaine and full of pasture, but into the land, high, full of mountaines, and sharpe. To the South it bordereth upon Arabia and the East Ocean. To the North upon the Caspian sea and the lands of Tartaria. To the East upon the provinces of India, and to the West upon the confines of Chaldea, Syria, and other the Turkes lands. All within these dominions be of the Sophies, named Shaw Thamas, sonne to Ismael Sophie. This Sophie that now raigneth is nothing valiant, although his power be great, and his people martiall: and through his pusillanimitie the Turke hath much invaded his countreys, even nigh unto the Citie of Teveris, wherein hee was wont to keepe his chiefe court. And now having forsaken the same, is chiefly resident at Casbin aforesaide, and alwayes as the said Turke pursueth him, he not being able to withstand the Turke in the felde, trusting rather to the mountaines for his safegard, then to his fortes and castles, hath caused the same to bee rased within his dominions, and his ordinance to be molten, to the intent that his enemies pursuing him, they should not strengthen themselves with the same.

This prince is of the age of fiftie yeeres, and of a reasonable stature, having five children. His eldest sonne he keepeth captive in prison, for that he feareth him for his vialiantnesse and activitie: he professeth a kinde of holynesse, and saith that hee is descended of the blood of Mahomet and Murtezalli: and although these Persians bee Mahometans, as the Turkes and Tartars bee, yet honour they this false fained Murtezalli, saying that hee was the chiefeest disciple that Mahomet had, cursing and chiding dayly three other disciples that Mahomet had called Ovear, Usiran, and Abebeck, and these three did slay the saide

Murtezalli, for which cause and other differences of holy men and lawes, they have had and have with the Turkes and Tartars mortall warres. To intreat of their religion at large, being more or lesse Mahomets lawe and the Alkaron, I shall not need at this present. These persons are comely and of good complexion, proude and of good courage, esteeming themselves to bee best of all nations, both for their religion and holinesse, which is most erroneous, and also for all other their fashions. They be martial, delighting in faire horses and good harnesses, soone angrie, craftie and hard people. Thus much I have thought good to treat of this nation, and now I returne to discusse the proceeding of the rest of my voyage.

My barke being ready at the Caspian sea as aforesaide, having a faire winde, and committing our selves unto God the 30. day of May 1563. we arrived at Astracan, having passed no lesse dangers upon the Sea in our returne, then wee sustained in our going forth, and remayning at the said Astracan, untill the tenth day of June, one hundred gunners being there admitted unto mee for my safegard up the river Volga, the fifteenth of July I arrived at the Citie of Cazan, where the Captaine entertained me well, and so dismissing mee, I was conducted from place to place unto the Citie of Mosco, where I arrived the twentieth day of August 1563. in safetie, thanks bee to God, with all such goods, merchandizes, and jewels, as I had provided as well for the Emperours stocke and accompt, as also of yours, all which goods I was commaunded to bring into the Emperours treasure before it was opened, which I did, and delivered those parcels of wares which were for his Majesties accompt, videlicet, precious stones, and wrought silkes of sundry colours and sortes, much to his highnesse contentation, and the residue belonging to you, viz. Crasko, and rawe silkes, with other merchandizes, (as by accompt appeareth) were brought unto your house, whereof part there remained, and the rest was laden in your shippes lately returned.

Shortly after my coming to the Mosco, I came before the Emperours Majestie, and presented unto him the apparell given unto me by the Sophie, whose highnesse conferred with mee touching the princes affaires which he had committed to my charge : and my proceedings therein

it pleased him so to accept, that they were much to his contentation, saying unto mee, I have perceived your good service, for the which I doe thanke you, and will recompence you for the same, wishing that I would travell againe in such his other affaires, wherein hee was minded to employ mee: to whom I answered, that it was to my heartie rejoycing that my service was so acceptable unto his highnesse, acknowledging all that I had done to bee but of ductie, humbly beseeching his grace to continue his goodnesse unto your worships, and even at that instant I humbly requested his Majestie to vouchsafe to graunt unto you a newe priviledge more ample then the first, which immediately was graunted, and so I departed. And afterwards having penned a briefe note howe I meant to have the same priviledges made, I repaired dayly to the Secretary for the perfecting of the same, and obtained it under his Majesties broad scale, which at my departure from thence, I delivered unto the custody of Thomas Glover your Agent there. The copy whereof, and also of the other priviledges, graunted and given by the king of Hircan, I have already delivered unto you. Sojourning all that winter at Mosco, and in the meane time having bargained with the Emperours Majestie, I sent away your servant Edward Clarke hither overland with advise, and also made preparation for sending againe into Persia in meete time of the yeere. And committing the charge thereof unto your servants Thomas Alcocke, George Wrenne, and Richard Cheinie, the 28. of June last, I departed in poste from the said Mosco, and comming to Colmogro and so downe to the Sea side, I found your ships laden and ready to depart, where I embarked my selfe in your good ship called the Swallow, the 9. of July, one thousand five hundred sixtie foure, and having passed the Seas with great and extreme dangers of losse of shippe, goods and life, the 28. day of September last (God be praised) we arrived here at London in safetie.

Thus knowing that the couragious and valiant souldier, which adventureth both fame, member and life, to serve faithfully his soveraigne, esteemeth not the perils and dangers passed (the victorie once obtained) neither for his guerdon desireth any thing more, then that his service bee well taken of him for whom he enterprised it: So I perceiving your favourable benevolence to me extended in accepting my travels in good part to your contentations,

do thinke my selfe therewith in great part recompensed : beseeching Almighty God so to prosper your adventures, from time to time hereafter to be made for reaping the fruits of my travels (at your great charges, and to my no small dangers) that ye may plentifully gather in and enjoy the same, to the illustrating of the Queenes most excellent Majestie, the honour and commoditie of this her highnesse Realme, and to the ample benefit and abundant enriching of you and your succession, & posteritie for ever.

A copie of the priviledges given by Obdolowcan King of Hircania, to the company of English merchants Adventurers for Russia, Persia, and Mare Caspium, with all the lands and countreys adjoyning to the same, obtained by M. Anthonie Jenkinson at his being there about the affaires of the said company, April 14. Anno 1563.

WE Obdolowcan by the mightie power of God maker of heaven and of earth, appointed and now rainging king of Shirvan and Hircan, of our meere motion and great goodnes, at the earnest sute and request of our favoured and welbeloved Anthonie Jenkinson Ambassadour, have given and graunted unto the right worshipfull Sir William Garret, sir William Chester, sir Thomas Lodge, M. Richard Mallarie, and M. Richard Chamberlaine, with all their company of merchants Adventurers of the Citie of London in England, free libertie, safe conduct, and licence to come or sende their factors in trade of merchandize into our countreys, and to buy and sell with our merchants and others, either for ready money or barter, and to tary and abide in our countrey, so long as they will, and to goe away when they list, without impediment, let, or hinderance, either of body or goods.

And further our commaundement and pleasure is, that the said English merchants with their company, shall pay no maner of custome for wares, which they or their factors shal buy or sel within our dominions. And if at any time our customers or other officers, or any of them, doe disturbe, misuse, force or constraîne the said English merchants or any of them, or their factors, to pay any maner of custome or ductie for any wares they bring in or cary out of our dominions contrary to this our commandement, and the same be knownen unto us, then we will that the saide customers and officers shall loose & be put out of their said offices, with our further dis-

pleasure, and the saide English merchants to have restored all such money & wares as our customers have taken of them for our said custome. And whensoever the saide English merchants or their factors shall bring any maner of wares meete for our treasurie, then our treasurer shall take the said wares into our treasurie, and shall give unto the said English merchants, either ready money or raw silkes, to the value of their saide wares. And wheresoever this our letter of priviledges shall bee seene and read within our dominion, we straightly wil and command that it take effect, and be obeyed in al points.

Dated at our place of Javat, the day and yere above written, and sealed with our princely seale, and firmed by our Secretarie in the 12. yeere of our raigne.

The second voiage into Persia made by Tho. Alcock, who was slaine there, and by George Wrenne, & Ric. Cheinie servants to the worshipfull companie of Moscovie merchants in Anno 1563. written by the said Richard Cheinie.

It may please your worships to understand, that in the yere 1563. I was appointed by M. Antho. Jenkinson, and M. Thomas Glover your Agent in Russia, to goe for Persia in your worships affaires, one Thomas Alcock having the charge of the voyage committed to him, and I one of your worships servants being joyned with him in your busines, having with us, as they said 1500. rubbles. And if it shall please you I cannot tell certainly what summe of money we had then of the Emperors: for I received none, nor disbursed any of it in wares for the voyage. Also, God I take to record, I could not tell what stocke your worships had there, for the bookes were kept so privily that a man could never see them. The 10. of May anno 1563. we departed from a towne called Yeraslave upon our voyage toward Persia. The 24. of July we arrived at Astracan: and the second of August wee departed from Astracan, and the 4. of the same moneth we came to the Caspian sea, and the 11. day of the said moneth we arrived at our port in Media: and the 21. of the said August wee arrived at Shammaki, whereas the king Obdoloecan lay in the fiede. We were wel entertained of heathen people, for the thirde day after our arrivall at Shammaki wee were called before the king: we gave him a present, and he entertained us very well.

At our comming to the Court wee were commaunded to come before the king, who sate in his tent upon the ground with his legs a crosse, and all his dukes round about his tent, the ground being covered with carpets: wee were commaunded to sit downe, the King appointing every man his place to sit. And the king commaunded the Emperour of Russelands Merchants to rise up, and to give us the upper hande. The 20. of October Thomas Alcock departed from Shammaki towards Casbin, leaving mee at Shammaki to recover such debts as the dukes of Shammaki ought for wares which they tooke of him at his going to Casbin. In the time I lay there I could recover but little. And at Thomas Alcocks comming from Casbin, who arrived at a towne called Leuvacta, whereas the king Obdolocan lay, a day and a halfes journey from the towne whereas I lay, I hearing of his arriving there, departed from Shammaki, finding him there in safetie with all such goods as he had with him. During his abode there for seven dayes he made suite to the king for such money as the dukes ought him. But the king was displeased for that the Emperour of Russelands merchant had slaine a Boserman at his going to Casbin. Thomas Alcocke seeing the king would shewe us no favour, and also hearing from Shammaki, that the Russes sent their goods to the sea side, for that they feared that the king of Persia should have knowledge of the death of the Boserman, willed mee to depart to Shammaki with all such goods as he had brought with him from Casbin, I leaving him at the Court.

The thirde day after mine arrivall at Shammaki, I had newes that Thomas Alcocke was slaine comming on his way towards me. Then the king Obdolocan understanding of his death, demaunded whether he had ever a brother. Some said I was, some saide I was not his brother. When this fell out, your worships had no other servant there but mee among those heathen people. Who having such a summe of goods lying under my handes, and seeing howe the Russes sent their goods with as much hast as they might to the sea side, and having but foure men to sende our wares to the sea side, I used such diligence, that within two dayes after Thomas Alcocke was slaine, I sent in company with the Russes goods, all your worships goods with a Mariner, William August, and a Swethen, for that they might the safer arrive at the seaside, being

safely layd in. All which goods afterwards arrived in Russeland in good condition, Master Glover having the receipt of all things which I sent then out of those parties into Russeland. Concerning my selfe, I remained after I had sent the goods into Russeland sixe weekes in Sham-maki, for the recovery of such debts as were owing, and at last with much trouble recovered to the summe of fiftene hundredth rubbles or there about, which M. Glover received of me at my comming to Mosco, and all such goods as I brought with me out of Keselbash, as by a note of my hand that hee hath shall appeare. Also he having the receipt of all such goods as I sent into Russeland by these two above named, he then had that voyage in venter of his owne better then an hundredth rubbles, one Richard Johnson twentie rubles, one Thomas Pette fiftie rubles, one Evan Chermisin a Tartar seventie rubles. All these had their returne: M. Glover allowed himselfe God knoweth howe, I then being in Persia in your worships affaires.

And whereas he saith, the Emperour had but for his part a dubble, as farre as I can see, knowing what the wares cost in those partes, hee had treble. If they gave him so much wares, all charges turned to your worships, as well of the Emperours as of their owne returnes. I have sown the seede, and other men have gathered the harvest: I have travailed both by lande and by water full many a time with a sorrowfull heart, aswell for the safeguarde of their goods as yours, how to frame all things to the best, and they have reaped the fruites of my travaile. But ever my prayer was to God, to deliver mee out of those miseries which I suffered for your service among those heathen people. Therefore knowing my ductie which I have done, as a true servant ought to do, I beseech your worships (although I have but small recompence for my service,) yet let me have no wrong, and God will prosper you the better.

Also, to informe your worships of your Persian voyage what I judge: it is a voyage to bee followed. The king of Gillan, whereas yet you have had no traffique, liveth al by marchandise: and it is neere Casbin, and not past six weekes travaile from Ormus, whither all the spices be brought: and here, (I meane at Gillan) a trade may be established: But your worships must send such men as are no riotous livers, nor drunkards. For if such men

goe, it wil be to your dishonour and great hinderance, as appeared by experience the yeere 1565. when as Richard Johnson went to Persia, whose journey had bene better stayed then set forward. For whereas before wee had the name among those heathen people to be such marchants as they thought none like in all respects, his vicious living there hath made us to be compted worse then the Russes.

Againe, if such men trauaile in your affaires in such a voyage, you shall never know what gaine is to be gotten. For how can such men imploy themselves to seeke the trade, that are inclined to such vices? or howe can God prosper them in your affaires? But when a trade is established by wise and discreet men, then wil it be for your worships to traffique there, and not before: for a voiage or market made evil at the first, is the occasion that your worships shal never understand what gaine is to be gotten thereby hereafter.

The thirde voyage into Persia, begun in the yeere 1565. by Richard Johnson, Alexander Kitchin, and Arthur Edwards.

A letter of Arthur Edwards to M. Thomas Nicols, Secretarie to the worshipfull company trading into Russia and other the North parts, concerning the preparation of their voyage into Persia.

MASTER NICOLS, my bounden ductie remembred, with desire of God for the preservation of you and yours: you shall understand that the second of March I was sent by M. Thomas Glover (your Agent) unto Jeraslave, appointed to receive such goods as should come from Vologhda, as also such kinde of wares as should be bought and sent from Mosco by your Agent, and M. Edward Clarke, thought meete for your voyage of Persia. And further, I was to provide for biscuit, beere, and beefe, and other victuals, and things otherwayes needful according to advise. Thus I remained here until the comming of your Agent, which was the 12. of May, who taried here three dayes, to see us set forwards on our voyage, and then he departed towards Colmogro, having appointed (as chiefe for your voyage of Persia) Richard Johnson. For my part I am willing, as also have bene & shalbe content to submit my selfe under him, whom the

Agent shall appoint, although he were such a one as you should thinke in some respects unmeete. Thirtie two packes of carseis are all of that kinde of cloth that we shall have with us. The other 18. packs that should have gone, were sold in Mosco. What other goods are shipped for our voyage, you shall understand by your Agents letters. Whereas Edward Clarke (being an honest man) was appointed Agent for Persia, as one for those parts more fit then any I do know here, God hath taken him unto his mercie, who departed this present life the 16. of March last past. I wished of God for my part he had lived: for my desire was in his company to have traueiled into Persia. Your barke or craer made here for the river of Volga and the Caspian sea is very litle, of the burthen of 30. tunnes at the most. It is handsomly made after the English fashion: but I thinke it too litle for your goods and provision of victuals. If the worshipful company would send hither a Shipwright, being skilfull to make one of the burden of 60. tunnes or more, drawing but sixe foote water at the most when it is laden, I thinke it should be profitable. For if your owne goods would not lade the same, here be Marchants that would bee glad and faine to give great freight to lade their goods with us, whereby your charges would be much lessened: And so it may happen, the wages of your men hired here may be saved, and your servants and goods in farre greater assurance: for their boates here are dangerous to saile with and to passe the Caspian sea. There be Carpenters here that will doe well ynough having one to instruct them. Your wares bought here, and orders taken for those that goe for your voyage of Persia are yet unknowne unto me: wherefore I cannot (as I would at this present) write to you thereof. Yet, (as you do know) it was the Governors mind I should be acquainted with greater affaires then these. Howbeit I doubt not but I shall be informed of them that are appointed, and all things shall be bought when they shall see time and have more laisure. Thus in hast (as appeareth) I commit you and yours into the hands of almightie God; who preserve you in perfect health with increase of worship.

From Jeraslave the 15. of May 1565.

By yours to command here or elsewhere
during life. Arthur Edwards.

Another letter of the said M. Arthur Edwards, written the 26. of April 1566. in Shamaki in Media, to the right worshipful Sir Thomas Lodge Knight and Alderman: and in his absence to M. Thomas Nicols, Secretarie to the right worshipfull companie trading into Russia, Persia, and other the North and East partes, touching the successe of Richard Johnson in the third voiage into Persia.

WORSHIPFULL Sir, my bounden duetie remembred, with heartie prayer unto God for the preservation of you and yours in perfect health with increase of worship. It may please you that my last letter I sent you was from Astracan the 26 of July 1565. From whence Richard Johnson, my selfe, and Alexander Kitchin, departed as the 30 of the same. And by meanes of contrary windes, it was the 23 of August before we came to our desired port named Nazavoe. There, after we had gotten your goods on land, with much labour and strength of men, as also windlasses devised and made, we haled your barke over a barre of beach or peeble stones into a small River, sending your ships apparell with other things to an house hired in a village thereby. And as soone as we might get camels, being the fift of September we departed thence, and came to this towne of Shamaki the 11. of the same: and the 17. day folowing, we presented unto Abdollocan the king of this countrey, one timber of Sables, one tunne or nest of silver cups parsill gilt, three Morses teeth, 4. Arshines of skarlet, 3. pieces of karseis, with 40. red foxes.

He received our presents with giving us thanks for our good wils, demanding if M. Jenkinson were in good health, and whether he would returne into these parts againe. He willed us also himselfe to sit downe before him the distance of a quoits cast from his tent, where he sate with divers of his counsaile and nobilitie, sending us from his table such meate as was before him: And after certaine talke had with us, he sayd, if he might perceive or know any maner of person to doe us any wrong, he would punish them in example of others, whereby we should live in quietnesse, and have no cause to complaine, giving us a litle house for the time, untill a better might be provided in such place as we should thinke most meete, never willing us to rise or depart, untill such time as we of our selves thought it convenient.

At the taking of our leave, hee willed us to put our whole minds and requests in writing, that he might further understand our desires. But while we were about to doe so, God tooke this good king our friend out of this present life the 2. of October past. The want of him hath bene the cause that as yet wee cannot receive certaine debts. Howbeit, we doubt not but we shall recover all such summes of money as are owing us for this voyage. As for Thomas Alcocks debts they are past hope of recoverie, which had not bene lost if the king had lived. We trust in the place of him, God will send as friendly a king towards us: who by report (and as we be credibly informed,) shall bee his sonne named the Mursay: who since the death of his father, at our being with him, promised to shew us more friendship then ever we found: God grant the same.

Great troubles have chanced in these parts. Of those which were of the old kings counsell or bare any rule about him in these quarters, some are in prison, some are pinched by the purse, and other sent for unto the Shaugh. These troubles have partly bene the let that wares were not sold as they might, to more profite. Your Agent Richard Johnson bought foure horses, minding to have sent to Casbin Alexander Kitchin, whom God tooke to his mercy the 23. of October last: and before him departed Richard Davis one of your Mariners, whose soules I trust the Lord hath received to his mercy. We are now destitute of others to supply their roumes. Foure Mariners were few enough to saile your barke, whereof at this present we have but one, whose name is William Smith, an honest yong man, and one that doeth good service here. For want and lacke of Mariners that should know their labours, we all were like to be cast away in a storme. For all the broad side of our barke lay in the water, and we had much adoe to recover it, but God of his mercy delivered us. Mariners here may doe you good service all the winter otherwayes: and merchants here will be gladder to ship their goods in us giving good freight. One merchant at this present is content to pay 20. rubbles for twentie camels lading freight to Astracan. Such barkes as must passe these seas, may not draw above five foote of water, because that in many places are very shallow waters. Wee mind hereafter to make the Russian boates more strong, and they shall serve our turnes very well.

And whereas some in times past tooke great paines, travell and care, and could not have their desire in the getting of the Shaughs letters or priviledge : Now, I trust (with Gods helpe) they may be obtained : which being had, will be beneficiall to the company, and great quietnes to those that shal remaine here, although heretofore things have chanced ill, as the like in other countries hath bene. But I doubt not, this priviledge once gotten and obtained, we shall live in quietnesse and rest, and shall shortly grow into a great trade for silkes both raw and wrought, with all kind of spices and drugs, and other commodities here, as to M. Anthonie Jenkinson is well knowne, who (I doubt not) hath long agoe throughly advertised the Companie thereof.

The trueth of the slaughter of Thomas Alcock your servant, is not certainly knowne. Some thinke it was by the meanes of a noble man, with whom your sayd servant was earnest in demanding of your debts : upon whose words he was so offended, that he procured his death. But other doe thinke verily, that in riding from the Court without companie, false knaves lay in waite, thinking he had much about him, and so slew him. I doubt not though this misfortune hath chanced, that things shall come well to passe, and that we shall be better beloved when we shall be more knowne.

Honest merchants are glad of our being here, and seeke to grow in acquaintance with us, being glad to further us in that they may, & have spoken in our favours to the chieftest of this Countrey : one being a noble man, with whom your Agent and I are entred into friendship, who is at this time in great favour with the Shaugh. He hath here and in other places of these parts set a good stay in things since the kings death : he is well knowne to M. Jenkinson, his name is Cozamomet. Also another Duke named Ameddinbeck is our great friend : And his sister is the Shaughes wife. These two have promised your Agent by their lawe, not onely to procure to get the Shaughes priviledge, but also that I shall have the debts paid me of those that went from hence to Casbin, if we would send one with them. In consideration whereof, I was upon short warning (for want of a better) appointed by your Agent M. Richard Johnson, all excuses laied apart, presently to put my selfe in readinesse, and to depart in company with these noblemen : with charge,

when God should send me to Casbin, to use my discretion with their advise, for the recovering of your debts and priviledge. I shall have with mee one interpreter and two bought servants : one of which partly understandeth this tongue, and may be put in trust whatsoever should become of me. I have received 6. tumens in ready money, 200. shaughs is a tumen, reckoning every shaugh for sixe pence Russe. I have further received two timbers of Sables, one to be sold, the other to bee given to Thomas the Shaugh : and have order further to give as I shall see good to those that shall further my suite, and as occasion serveth. And forasmuch as I am commanded to go, I shall willingly do my best, putting my trust in God that he will send me well to speed in this journey.

For all kind of wares bought or sold, you shal thoroughly be advertised by your Agent Richard Johnson, whose reckonings or accompts at no hands I might see or be privie unto. Your karseis were good and well sorted, they are and will be sold from 150. shaughs, to 160. the piece. Two hundred pieces were sold under, that needed not : one 100. pieces at 146. and 147. the piece but more would have bene given, if circumspection had bene used. They were sold to those noble men aforesayd, when as yet it was not knowen that I should have gone with them. They may stand us much in stead, as they have promised us their goods wils in that they may doe. Here is at this time bought for England 11. packes of rawe silke, 25. and 26. batmans being in every packe : The batman being 7. pound, which may be 6. pound and a halfe of English waight, being bought here from 66. to 70. shaughes the batman. It is fine and good, litle course at this time was to be had. And where course silke might be had being at Grosin, we could not send thither : for that time was neglected at the first. When wee shall have lidgers here to remaine in Sommer, we may buy it at the first hand of the cuntry people that bring it to sell hither, and to other places. I would to God the Companie could find the meanes to have a vent to make sales for the one halfe that we may buy here. The Companie may have for 30. or 40. thousand pounds yeerely. And as appeareth by your Agents wordes being at Varas, he and others sawe there so great abundance, that by report of divers, you may bestow (if it were not for the Turkes) for a two hundred thousand pounds : besides silke of all colours

died in graine, bound up in pound waights, I thinke 15. of our ounces to their pound waight, and here sold for 23. shaughs, at 6.d. the shaugh, may be 11.s. 6.pence.

From Astracan in 7. or 8. dayes, wee may saile with our barke to a place named Gilan: the which place in time to come, (I thinke) shall serve our purpose best to goe unto. Alom is there good cheape, being brought from thence hither to Shamaki, and sold here for two bists their batman, which may be 5. pence in our money: and so I have bought to bee sent home 223. batmans for example. And at Gilan there is rawe silke enough for the companies stocke. I beleeeve, if any great store of wares be sent from you, that must be the place: & from thence a man may travell in 4. dayes to Casbin, and there make quicke and better sales, at which place your commodities are to be sold. For there be the chiefe and best merchants, and divers other cities round about, to wit, Teveris, Ardouil, and Caishan, being the heart of the countrey, where there is more civillitie and merchants are better used. Concerning this point I have inquired of divers merchants both Russes and others that have bene in those parts, and found them all agreeing in one tale, and perceive the same to be true, and that all kind of wares come from thence into these parts. And from Casbin to Ormus, is about 30. daies travelling with camels. I have written the prices of wares in my letter to the governour both for spices and some drugs which I do know.

Also you shall understand here is plentie of yew for bowstaves. I caused three horse loades to be bought us for to know the trueth: but they were cut out of season this moneth of April, the sap being in them. Three moneths I never left speaking to the Countrey men to bring some. Your Agent will send some home for example.

This day being the 26. of Aprill I departed towards Casbin: God give me a good houre and well to speed, with a mery heart in returning againe, as my hope is I shall. I have written my mind to M. Glover your Agent, what Russian wares I thinke best to be bought for this Countrey, and to send some one hither that hath the Russe tongue, for we have need. And the companie shall do well hereafter in taking of servants to be sent hither, to see that they be such as have discretion, and be some-

thing broken in the world, and seene in the trade of merchandise, and one (if they can get some such) as can speake the Portingall tongue, may do them as good service, as those that shall be here two yeeres before him: for then we may buy a slave that can speake this language and the Portingall tongue also, which shall then interprete unto us in all your secret doings, not making the Russes privy: for they are sory that we doe trade into these partes, for we are better beloved then they are: because they are given to be drunkards, they are much hated of these people. It is to be wished that none should serve your worships in these parts that be given to that kind of vice: And that your chiefe Agent and Factor should be able to rule and governe himselfe, that no dishonestie should be imputed to him and us. By his evill usage he paied here 24 rubbles, being in this Countrey 4. tumens for a boy, that he was charged to have conveyed away from a Tesicke one of this countrey men, who willed him to sweare that he knew not where the boy was become, and he should not pay it. If he were honest he might do your worships good service because of his Russian tongue.

Your London reds are not to be sent hither, for they will not give above 18. shaughes their arshine. Here be reds of more orient colour, being Venice die. The people are given much to weare cloth: the common people specially weare karseis, and the merchants of more wealth weare broad cloth. You shall doe well to send five or sixe broad clothes, some blackes, pukes, or other sad colours, that may be afforded at 20. shaughes the arshine, and not above. It is here reported that King Philip hath given the Turkes a great overthrow at Malta, and taken 70. or 80. of his chiefe captains.

Thus wishing I had more time to write, I pray you to beare with this my scribled letter, and after you have red it, that M. Nicols may have a sight thereof.

By your servant to command,

Arthur Edwards.

**Commodities to be caried out of England into Persia,
with their prizes there.**

- 1 KARSEIS are sold there for 180. Shaughes : so that a karsey is sold there in Persia for foure pound ten shillings : for every shaugh is sixe pence English, and every Bist is two pence halfe peny English, and in Russe money three pence.
- 2 Tinne is sold in Persia for 14. and 18. shaughes the batman. The batman containing as I have mentioned before.
- 3 Brasil is at 10. and 12. shaughes the batman.
- 4 Red cloth fine, at 25. and 30. shaughes the yard.
- 5 Copper at 20. and 25. shaughes the batman.

Commodities to be brought out of Persia for England.

- 1 Raw silke at 60. shaughs ye batman.
- 2 Pepper at 32. shaughs ye batman.
- 3 Ginger at 18. & 20. shaughs ye batman.
- 4 Nutmegs at 30. shaughs the batman.
- 5 Brimstone at 4 shaughs the great batman. The great batman is 12. li. English.
- 6 Allom at 2. bists and a halfe the batman and lesse.
- 7 Rice at halfe a bist the batman.
- 8 Gals at halfe a bist the batman.
- 9 Cloves at 40. shaughs the batman.
- 10 Yew for bow staves, at

A letter of M. Arthur Edwards, written the 8. of August 1566. from the towne of Shamaki in Media, to the right worshipfull the Governours, Consuls, Assistants, and generalitie of the companie of Russia, &c. Shewing his accesse unto the Emperour of Persia, his conference with him, his obtaining of a priviledge, with divers other good observations.

RIGHT worshipfull Sirs, my bounden dutie remembred, with most humble commendations and like request to God for the preservation of your good healths, with the rest of the companie, &c. It may please you to understand, that the last letter which I sent you from hence was of the 26. of April of this present yeere by Richard Johnson at my departure towards Casbin : to which citie I came the 25. of May folowing, not slacking any day, houre, nor moment, to procure and make friends for the speedie

bringing me before the presence of the Shaugh, being the 29. day of the same moneth brought before him, with whose majestie I was in talke (as I thinke) two houres. He willed me twise to come neerer him, demanding what were my requests : and having heard them, he promised me his gracious letters. Afterwards he called me twise againe to come neerer him, and talked with me of our Queenes majestie and Countrey, and what commodities we had, and what other commodities we desired : and then of other countries adjoyning to us and their commodities, as also of king Philip, what overthrow he gave the Turks at the siege of Malta. And how long we had traded into Russeland and Moscovia, and in what space we might saile out of England into Russeland, & how many weekes travell it is from Colmogro to Astracan : and then came to discourse of Russeland, and what townes the Emperour had wonne, declaring unto me himselfe most of our commodities. In the end he willed that your worships should send him of all sorts of clothes, but of one especially which maidens do make (as he sayd :) He named it Karengi, I thinke it is Westernne dozens died into scarlets. Time will not permit mee to write at large the conference which I had with his majesty. It was strange to his people (knowing our religion) to see me so long in talke with him, willing his Secretarie before mee to write what he was desirous of : to wit, of London clothes, three or foure of all sorts for example, being well shorne and drest. Violets in graine and fine reds be most worne, but other good colours will away, when they shall see them. I wore a garment of London russet, being much esteemed. You shall doe well to send such sorts as be lively to the sight, and some blacks for womens garments, with some Orange colours and tawneis. Here is much broad cloth worne. They talke much of London clothes, and they that know the wearing, are desirous of them before the cloth of the womens making, for they find it nothing durable. For when it commeth to weare on the threed, it renteth like paper. Here is much Venice cloth worne, being cromplisted a yard and a halfe broad, and sold here from 24. to 30. shaughes their arshine, being longer by two inches then the Russe arshine is. I wish also that you send some good chamlets & velvets died in graine, with purple colours & fine reds : because these are most worne. Also some blacks with other colours : some

cloth of gold, tissue & bocky, some velvets wrought with gold, with sattins and damaskes, most purple, and reds of all sorts. You may not forget to send some Western karseis, to wit, dozens, which be thicked well, and close shut in the weaving, being died into fine reds, and some skarlets: for I thinke there is no such cloth for their caps.

Your worships shall understand, that after my first departure from the presence of the Prince, I neglected no time in daily attendance on them, who had my priviledge in writing, that I might have it in readinesse at such time as I should againe bee called before the presence of the Shaugh, which was the 29. of June last. I was in apparell that he gave unto me, with other garments to mine interpreter, and one of your servants, and then I received your letters or priviledge, according to my desire, sealed and firmed with the Shaughs owne hand. Praysed bee God who hath wrought with me, and for me, in all my doings.

The 29. of June is one of their chiefe festivall daies, so that all his nobilitie was there present, with two Ambassadors in companie with his majestie, who sayd unto me that if my letters were not to my mind, in time to come they should be mended. Whereupon I made my reverence, and gave his highnesse most humble and heartie thanks, saying, that with as much speed as might bee, our Queenes Majestie should understand of his goodnesse towards her Merchants, which I thought would write their letters of request unto his Highnes, in such forme & order as by them should be thought meete and requisite for their good assurance in the trade of merchandizes: who replied with these wordes: when wee shall see their reasonable requests, we will shew them our farther good will, and so I departed.

Since the receiving of the Shaughs letters, I have eaten in company of good Dukes and others, who before would not come neere me. And every day some would come to my Shop, and eate and drinke with me out of mine owne dish. Likewise in riding from Casbin hither, on the way when I sate downe to dinner, they would come and eate with mee unbidden, when I wished them further off: for I spared them that, which gladly I would have eaten my selfe. I doubt not but we shall live here from hencefoorth in quietnes: for now in all places where I come, I am friendly used with the best.

I was asked by the Shaugh if you were able to bring him yeerly one hundred thousand peeces of kersies, and clothes. And I answered him, saying, your worships were able to furnish his countrey with two hundred thousand. Whereat his Highnesse rejoyced: for the Turkes Ambassador the last yere, as divers have told me, did put the Shaugh in despaire, saying, that the Turke would not permit any cloth to be brought into his countrey.

There is a citie in Syria named Aleppo, wherein continually are many Venetians dwelling, besides other that come yeerely and there buy wools, gals, tallow, saffron, skins, cotton wooll, and other wares, and great store of spices. Also the Armenians yeerly receive at the Venetians hands, karsies in barter for rawe silks, giving sometimes 60. peeces of karsies for 70. batmans of silke of this countrey, and 40. peeces for Grosin silke. And karsies sold commonly for ready money in Aleppo, at 11. and 12. duckets the peece, (the ducket being here woorth 12. shillings) may cost the first peny 132. and 144. Shaughs a karsie. By report it is one moneths travel from this towne of Shamaky to Aleppo, and from thence to Tripolis, six dayes journey: and from Tripolis to Venice by water, a moneth or five weekes sailing. As I learne, from hence to Venice may easily be travelled in lesse then three moneths. Therefore I wish your worships to procure some trustie and assured friend there, to whom from hence letters may be sent. For I can have them here to put in suerties to deliver my letters, and to bring answer. If I had any other here with me, I would nothing have doubted to have brought you the Shaughs letters that way.

The Armenians and other are desirous to barter with us, giving silke for karsies, and also will serve us of all kind of spices, we giving them sufficient warning to fetch it in the Indies, and will deliver it us in Shamaky at these prizes.

Pepper this townes batman for 18. Shaughs, every Shaugh is sixepence.

Maces large for 40. Shaughs, and 45. the batman.

Cloves for 40. Shaughs the batman.

Nutmegs for 16. and 18. Shaughs the batman.

Sinamon for 40. Shaughs the batman. I doubt not but there will be profite and good done in spices, with drugs and other like in time.

From Casbin to Ormus is six weeks travel, and from hence to Casbin is 16. dayes with camels laden: but if one travell with a good Mule unladen, it may be gone in seven or eight dayes. And I thinke to Ormus and other places, may be travelled in like order and proportion, with cattel unladen. But here in all places as men travel, they must carie their owne provision on horses, which they are to buy, and thus they travell but a footepase.

The Shaugh himselfe is desirous to bargain with you who will give money, silke, and other wares as we will, and take our wares as we may affoord them, willing me himselfe to bring such wares as we might gaine by him. The Armenians by report, and as I perceive, bring from Aleppo yeerely, foure, five, and six thousand pieces of karsies, and clothes, besides those which other men bring. If your Worships might procure and find vent or sales for rawe silke, and silke died in graine, besides other silkes wrought and made here, by which, profite may be made: then you might send a great substance of wares hither. But I feare you shall be hindered by the Venetians if they may: for I know it will grieve them that you doe trade into these partes: for in short time it shall cleane alter their trade, and hinder the sales of their clothes in Aleppo and other places adjoyning. You shall understand that 60. batmans of silke is a Mules lading: and as it is reported, one village of the Armenians yerely carieth 400. and 500. Mules lading of silke to Aleppo, and bringeth thence 800. or a thousand Mules laden with karsies & Venice clothes. And 18. pieces of karsies are a Mules lading. But I wish you not to send above 2000. pieces of karsies, although I have bene willed to write for more. If I might have had any understanding what your Worships had written for in your letters sent this yeere, I should in this my letter have bene better able to have answered you. They which be now in Astracan, might have written some thing unto me hither, if it had pleased them, or else have sent me such letters of mine, as I hope some of my friends have written to me: for here are arrived eight weekes past, two boates with wares and Russes, by whom they might have written, had it bene but 3. or 4. lines. They promised the Russes to write, but promise was not kept. I would be sory that any boat should depart out of these partes, and not write unto them, waying how all things stand. I heare they have

bought a boat, which cost 40. rubbles, and shipped certaine wares to come hither. God send them in safetie. I do tarie their comming, or els I had thought to have come to Astracan in those boates which departed hence lately.

The fifteenth of July last, I departed from Casbin, and came to this towne the 29. of ye same. And the fourth of August I found meanes to arrest the falsest knave in this countrey, to wit, the Customer for 22. tumens, and 100. shaughs, (200. shaughs is a tumen.) I have caused him to put in suerties for his foorthcomming at all times, what ende I shall have with him, God knoweth, the debt will be recovered, but not yet, for he must pay the Shaugh 1000. rubbles. These partes as yet are in no stay for lacke of a Governour or head to rule, which I thinke shall bee the Mursey. Within 5. or 6. dayes we shall know, for it is time, because men are in feare to travell for being robbed. If there were a prince placed, I should soone get in your debts, for they dare not disobey the Shaughs letters or priviledge: wherein he hath not onely written that our debts shall be paied, but also that we shall be taken heed to, so as we need not to doubt (God willing) in time to come, to be here as wel used as we are in Russeland. The bills of debts that Rich. Johnson left with me, had neither the parties name nor summe of mony in two of them, and in other bills but his own name. If I had not used discretion in causing to be written in our priviledge, that such debtes as are owing, should be paied any of us in the absence of the other, some men would not have paied one penie, but onely to Richard Johnson, who hath written but his owne name onely in the bills. I received in Casbin of Forackan in part of 29. tumens, 300. shaughs in money: the rest he will deliver me here in silke, and this is all that I have received to this day. And as for Hawrambecks twelve tumens, I make accompt, that if I could ride to speake with him, I should be paid in money and wares. Touching Ackons money, by meanes of Duke Ameddinbeck, who first owed the debt, because they meant not to pay a penie, he did rather seeke to hinder my sute then to further mee, but I found out a present remedie: for God sent me friends that were alwayes about the Shaugh, and daily put on his apparell, who opened all my sute, and brought mee to the presence of the Shaugh before that Cozomomet sawe the Shaughs

eyes. But Cozomomet in the end was my friend : for he was sent for, and declared unto the Shaugh what good merchants we were, using trueth in all our doings, and how we were in great favour with the Emperour of Russia, and what good commodities wee might bring into his Countrey, with other talke. And daily he was sent for to the Shaugh about the affaires in those partes, for no man was able to advise the Shaugh of the state and affaires of those Countreys so much as hee was. He owed your Worships seven tumens and 48 shaughs, which was not all this time to be gotten at his hands : for hee was at great charges in riding to Casbin, and giving great gifts since his comming, which he twice declared unto me. I feeling his grieve became Physicion to ease his paine, and forgave him his debt abovesayd, in recompence of ten pieces of karsies, that were promised him by Richard Johnson and me, to give him at the comming of our goods, in consideration that he should with speed doe what lay in him, to dispatch me away : for I perceive hee procured other that did helpe me in my sute to delay me of, till time he had his purpose. I never was in quiet, till I had the Princes priviledge, and had got mee out of Casbin : for victuals, and all other things are very deare there, because they are brought thither from farre off. As for all other smal debts (which may be about 7. tumens) when our Merchants are come hither, we shall seeke to get them in as we may. I wish your Worships to send some bullion to bee coyned here, it will please the prince there, and be profitable to you. Silke is better cheape by two or three shaughs the batman, then it was the last yeere. You shall understand that I have written two letters of all my proceedings, which I sent from Casbin long since : to wit, the 24. and 29. of June last, by one of your servants to Gilan, there to take ship and to goe to Astracan, and to deliver the same unto your Factors, which might have bene to their quietnes and mine, long agoe. But I am right sorie to heare since my comming hither, that he hath plaied the loitering merchant in Gilan, not going in those boats that went first, but taried for the last boats. But I will teach him, to the example of other, how he shall make haste hereafter in such affaires. The karsies which you sent last, being bought of M. Quarles, were good and full lengths and well sorted. The Princes Ambassador of Gilan was in Casbin, at my being there.

I hope in God, if I remaine here, and may goe to Gilan, to obtaine for your worships the like priviledge at the kings hand there also. For I have somthing moved the matter, being put in such comfort, that I doubt not the getting thereof with small charges, which I had done at this time if I had had other here with me to put in trust: for from Casbin to Gilan is but 5. dayes riding, which Countrey may be profitable to your Worships. There is in that Province good store of silke, better cheape, & better in goodnesse then this countrey silke is. Also great store of Alom, being there sold this townes batman, for one bist and a halfe. I have made reckoning, al charges borne from hence to Colmogro, & from thence freight into England at three pounds the tunne, al charges accounted, will not stand you in above 18. and 20. shillings the hundreth. You have yeerly by report two or three hundred tunnes lading. Other commodities there for England I heare not of. As for gals here to bee bought, there is no profit to be done by them. They be brought from Aleppo, and sold here not under 3. or 4. shaughs their batman, being six pounds English waight. Graine that you die scarlet withall is worth the batman ready mony, 200. shaughs, reckoning the shaugh for 6. pence Russe, it may be 6. rubbles their batman. Your worships may send some portion of mony, if you may buy, as I thinke you may, for 12. and 13.s. a pound the berries, so you shall gaine both in the price and waight. If one Englishman more had bene here with me, to whom I might have delivered our bills of debts and other things, whatsoever should have chanced of me, I would then have become servant to mine Interpreter, and so have gone to Ormus and Aleppo, which both joyne on the borders of this countrey, being the chiefe Mart townes, whereunto from all places merchants resort. And thus would I have spent 4. or 5. months in travelling for further knowledge of things for to have certified your worships of. I hope in God to use things in such order, that yeerly you shall have returne of your goods from hence, as you have forth of Russeland, and in those ships. For if we may, as I doubt not with diligence, provide to make sales in time, and with speed receive silke at the Shaughs hand, and other mens, that it may be sent from hence to be in Astracan at the beginning of Aprill, from whence it may be sent to Colmogro in three moneths and lesse, and there to be

ready with the rest of your goods by the end of June for your ships to receive, that will be time inough. This I doubt not to bring to passe within a yeere or two, when we are throughly settled in these parts, and better knowen. Moreover you shall understand, that at my last being in the presence of the Shaugh, it was sayd to mee that M. Anthonie Jenkinson did proffer to take all the rawe silke in those parties, delivering cloth and other commodities for the same. I assure you there is in those parts to be had three or foure thousand horses lading, every horse load being 50. or 60. batmans, beside silke of Grosin. Great abundance of silke at times is sent out of these parts, to wit, 4. or 5. hundred horse lodes at a time by the Turkes, who bring great store of silver to be coined, to wit, Dollars at ten shaughs the piece. The Hungarie Ducket is at 12. shaughs. And having money in readines at the time of the yeere, they buy silke the better cheape, when the countrey men bring it first to be sold. If your worships may bargaine with the Venetians to take silke at your hands, or otherwise deale with them, I doe not mistrust but to have at the Shaughs hand sixe batmans of silke for two pierces and a halfe of karsies. Your good advise herein, and in other matters, I trust you will write with convenient speed. Master Anthonie Jenkinson hath deserved great commendation at all your worships hands : for the good report of his well and wise doings in those parts, was oftentimes a comfort to me to heare thereof, and some good helpe to me in my proceedings. To this day I never heard from any of our merchants. God graunt me in health to see your worships, for I have had a carefull travell, with many a sorrowfull day and unquiet sleepes. Neither had I the company of one English person, to whom sometimes I might have eased my pensive heart, as God well knoweth, who hath delivered me from mine enemies. Thus almightie God graunt you in health and wealth long to live.

Your humble servant at commandement
during life,
Arthur Edwards.

Another letter of Arthur Edwards written in Astracan the 16. of June, 1567. at his returne in his first voiage out of Persia, to the right worshipfull Companie trading into Russia, Persia, and other the North and Northeast partes.

It may please your Worships that herein I have written not onely certaine articles of your priviledge, but also the Governours names, with the Consuls, Assistants and generalitie. Also such commodities as the Prince or Emperour of the Countrey hath written in one of his letters directed to your Worships to be sent him, with other notes which I thought good to be remembred, as may appeare hereafter following. Your priviledge is written, graunted, and given in the names of these sixe persons following: to wit, sir William Garrard, sir William Chester, governours, sir Thomas Lodge, master Anthony Jenkinson, master Thomas Nicols and Arthur Edwards.

1 First, it is granted that you shall pay no maner of customes or tols, any kinde of wayes, now, nor in time comming, unto his heires after him. And that all English merchants, such as you shall appoint now and hereafter, shall and may passe and repasse into all places of his dominions and other countries adjoining in the trade of merchandise, to buy and sell all maner of commodities, with all maner of persons.

2 Item, that in all places where any of our merchants shall have their resort, or abiding, his chiefe Governours, Rulers and Justices shall take heed unto us, being our aide & defence against all evil persons, punishing those that shall do us any wrong.

3 Item, that for all such debts as shall be owing by any maner of person, justice shal be done on the partie, and we paid at the day.

4 Item, that no maner of persons of whatsoever estate or degree they be of, shall be so hardie as to take any kind of wares, or any gifts, without any leave and good will.

5 Item, if by chance medley any of our merchants or servants, as God forbid, should kill any of his subjects, that no part of your goods shall be touched or medled withall, neither any partie but the offendour, and true justice to bee ministred, and being any of us, not to suffer without the Princes knowledge and advise.

6 Item, that all such debts as are now owing, or hereafter shall be, are to be paid unto any of us, in the absence of the other, be the partie dead or alive.

7 Item, that no person returne any kind of wares backe againe, being once bought or sold.

8 Item, that when God shall send your goods to shore, presently his people shall helpe us on land with them.

These articles before written, I trust in God wil content your minds, untill your farther letters be hitherto written unto the Prince, who I am assured will graunt your farther reasonable requests, which his majestie hath promised. For I moved the question, declaring unto him that I thought your Worships would write your letters of requests, to crave his farther good will, as should be thought meet for your better assurance in the trade of merchandize: you will hardly beleve what long and gracious talke he had with mee, which I assure you continued two houres, which was strange unto the people & other merchant strangers. For betwixt every question that his majestie moved, when I had answered him, hee would talke with his Nobles and other his servants, having some knowledge of our Western parts & commodities, and then againe would demaund other questions. He caused his Secretarie to write the articles before named, in all of his foure letters given me (whereof two as I required, are in the Turkish tongue to be sent you.) On the backe side of the one, hee hath written what wares his Majestie would have you to send him. He held me one houre within night before I departed from him.

These bee the names of the wares or commodities, which on the backe side of one of his letters the Shaugh hath written to you to be sent him.

FIRST, some cloth of Gold, with cloth of Tissue, and cloth of Botky, as Velvets wrought with gold.

Item, good velvets, to wit, crimosins, purples, reds, greens and blackes. These colours his majestie requireth, for they are most worne. And though there be some of these wares made in his citie of Cassan, yet nothing like in goodnes, to those that you may procure for him. Small profite I thinke will be in these wares: yet for divers considerations, as also to satisfie the Princes mind, I wish you to send some, and those that be especiall good.

Item, good damasks and sattins of all sortes, with an hundred pieces of good chamlets, which are woorth here 80. shaughs the piece, at sixe pence the shaugh, and those silkes to bee of those colours above written, to wit, crimosins, purples, reds, greenes, blackes, with some light watchet colours.

Item, three or foure complete harnesses that wil abide the shot of a handgun with 10. or 12. targets of steele, being good.

Item, ten or twelve good shirts of male being very good or else none, that may abide the shot of an arrow, and two buffe jerkins.

Item, ten or twelve pieces of Westernne karsies, being thicked well and close shut in the weaving, and died into scarlets and fine reds. I thinke there wil be no such cloth for noblemens caps. The prince named them karangies, saying, that maidens did make them, & is desirous of them.

Item, six pieces of fine Holland cloth for the Prince, with some other for noblemen, of a lower price.

Item, twentie handguns being good, some of them with fire locks, and also six good dags, with locks to travel withall.

Item 100. brusses for garments (none made of swines haire,) for gifts, and otherwise to be sold.

Item, six stone bowes that shoot lead pellets.

Item, a mill to grind corne in the field as they goe, finely devised: for Cozomomet willed me to write for one to be sent, to give the Prince.

Item, the Prince requireth of all sortes and colours of London clothes. I wish you to send no lesse then 40. or 50. for I know they will be sold to profit, especially such cloth as may be afforded for 20. shaughs the arshine, which is longer by two of mine inches then Russia arshine is. Let there be fine skarlets, violets in graine, fine reds, blacks, browne blewes, foure or five of every sort, for the prince and other lords: the rest of other colours lively to the sight, as London russets, tawnies, lion colours, good lively greenes, with other, as you shall thinke good: for the prince desireth to see of all sorts, which will be an occasion that the Venetians and Turkes shall bee in lesse estimation then they are: for they themselves do feare, and secretly say the same. And truely the Princes subjects intend to enter into trade

with us for spices and other commodities that they were wont to sell unto the Venetians and Turkes.

Thus I commit you all to God, who send you health with increase of worship. Written in Astracan the 16. of June, 1567.

By your servant during life to command,
Arthur Edwards.

Distances of certaine places in Russia.

The way from Saint Nicholas Baie to Mosco.

	versts
To Colmogro	100
To Ustiug	500
To Totma	250
To Vologhda	250
All by the river of Dwina	} 1100
To Yeraslave	180
To Rostove	60
To Peraslave	60
To Mosko	120
By land East and West	} 440

The way from Mosko to Smolensko.

To Moram	300
To Smolensko	200

The way from Mosko to Novogrod.

To Ottver	180
To Torzhoke	60
To Wisnovolloko	60
To Novogrod	150
Southeast and Northwest	} 450

The way from Novogrod to Narve.

To Teseva	50
To the Friers	60
To Yria Niagorod	40
To Narve	15
Southwest and Northeast	} 165

From Novogrod to Vobsky, is 180. versts by East.

The way from Vobski to Ry in Liefland.

To Newhouse	50 versts
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To Goven on ye borders	}	Al is 200. versts.
To Wenden		
To Trecado		
To Newslot		
To Ric		

The way from Mosco to Astracan.

To Costrom	}	2800. versts
To Nisnovogrod		
To Cazán		
To Astracan in all is		

The way from Vologhda to Narve.

To Belozercó	140
To Batag	80
To Witergen	40
To Ladiski	60
To Onega lake	80
To Oher	90
To Narve	180

Southwest and Northeast } 770. versts

To go with a small boat within the land from S. Nicholas to Wardhouse.

To Newnox river	}	To Wardhouse in all 800. versts North- west and Southeast.
To Ovsca Gouba		
To Lobshanga		
To Ovst Navelocki		
To Orlovanos		
To Solvsca Monasterie		
To Candelox		
To Ovst Colla		
To Zhemaker		
To Poganna Volocki	}	
To Chibe Navolocke		
To Keger		

The way from Colmogro to Mizemske Sloboda, where the Samoeds keep their Mart.

To Ust Pinnego	}	Al is 230. versts
To Palango		
To Levnona		
To Vescom		
To Soyava		
To Covla		

To Nendega	} Al is 230. versts
To Lampas	
To Sloboda	

The way to Uromo from Mezemske Sloboda, where the
Losh hides are gotten.

To Lampas	} Al is 115. versts
To Pogorel	
To Zapolle	
To Uromo	

Northeast and
Southwest.

The way and distances from Saint Nicholas to the
Caspian Sea.

If you goe straight from Saint Nicholas to the Caspian Sea, you must goe to Vologhda by water, as by the easiest passage, and that is accomplished, passing day and night, in foureteene dayes and foureteene nights, in boates cut out of a tree: (the boates are called Stroogs) 1100. versts it is.

By horse and sleds in 8. dayes you may passe it in Winter. In Summer the way is dangerous by meanes of marishes and bogs, and not safely then to be passed. Then from Vologhda to Yeraslave, 180. versts over land. This Yeraslave standeth upon the river of Volga, 180. versts I say distant from Vologhda.

To the Caspian sea are 2700. versts from Yeraslave.

So from S. Nicholas to the Caspian sea, are } 3800.80. versts.

The journey from S. Nicholas to Yeraslave is accomplished in foureteene dayes by water, and two dayes by land. } 16. dayes.

From thence to Astracan men travell by water in 30. dayes and 30. nights.

So between S. Nicholas and the Caspian sea, are } 40. dayes journey.

There passe downe Volga every Summer, 500. boats great & smal, from all the upper parts of the river, whereof some be of 500. tunne. They go for Minerall salt and for Sturgeon.

The salt lieth in rocks (and is whitish red, and in fine sand) as it were 30. miles from Astracan toward the Caspian sea. They dig it themselves and pay nothing for it, but to the prince a peny a pood, viz. 40. pound waight.

The Sturgeon which they call Ocetera is taken fiftie

miles on this side Astracan. Along the river the space of 20. miles, they make their booties in plaine grounds, & fish for the space of three moneths, viz. from the end of May till the end of August, and having salt they use to salt them.

The river is there 5. or 6. miles broad, but with some Islands.

The river below Yeraslave, where it is most narow, is a mile broad from side to side.

The river runneth upon red clay, all woods of birch and oke on the river sides, save about the townes of the fishing places.

Dwina from S. Nicholas to Ustiug runneth all on chalke and sand: the fish are sweete & fat. The Mene a fish with a great head a foot long breedeth about Vologda, and is fat and delicate.

Between Vobsko and Novogrod, the space of an 180. miles, groweth flaxe: the whole soile in length is so imploied, and as much in breadth: this is upon a flat soile.

The hempe groweth about Smolensko upon the Polish border, 300. miles in compasse: much of the soile is so imploied.

Of this hempe they bring in Winter to Vologda and Colmogro, and we set in worke in making of cables above 100. men.

The Russians do spin and hachell it, and the English tarre it in threed and lay the cable. And one cable of those is woorth two of Danzick, because the Danzickers put in old cable and rotten stufte, which in fowle weather is found of no strength.

Sosnova, a tree that cureth the wolfe with the shavings of the wood, groweth in these parts, and of the barks they make ropes as big as a mans arme for their boats.

The Samoeds lacking linnen make handkerchiefs and towels of the very wood of this tree. The wood of this tree is as heavie as hollie, and the shavings tough.

Rose Island in S. Nicholas Baie is full of Roses damaske and red, of violets and wild Rosemarie: This Island is neere 7. or 8. miles about, and good pasture, and hath the name of the roses.

The snow here about the midst of May is cleared, having bin two moneths in melting, then the ground is made dry within 14. dayes after, and then the grasse is knee high

within a moneth. Then after September the frost cometh in, the snow is a yard deepe upon plaine ground. The Island hath Firre and Birch, and a faire fresh spring neere the house built there by the English.

The way discovered by water by us Thomas Southam & John Sparke, from the towne of Colmogro, by the Westernne bottome of the Baie of S. Nicholas, unto the citie of Novogrod in Russia, containing many particulars of the way, and distance of miles, as hereafter foloweth. Anno 1566.

We departed from Colmogro about 10. of the clocke afore noone in a Lodia or Barke, which we hired to bring us along the coast to a place called Soroka, & in the sayd barke we hired 6. mariners, and a boy to conduct us to the place before rehearsed.

The Lodia or barke was of the burden of 25. tunnes or thereabout, wherewith we valed downe the river of Dwina, the winde being then calme, unto a monasterie called S. Michael where we were constrained to anker because of a contrary wind which there met us.

From Colmogro to this monasterie are 50. versts or miles of Russia, at which place we taried till the 21. day in the morning, and then having the wind somewhat faire, we set saile and departed thence.

21 We departed from the monasterie of S. Michael, having the wind somewhat faire, and arrived at Rose Island, over and against the monasterie of S. Nicholas, the 22. day at 2. of the clocke in the morning, which is 35. miles distant from the monasterie of S. Michael. By reason of contrary wind and tide we were constrained to tary there all that day.

23 We departed from the monasterie of S. Nicholas at 7. of the clocke in the evening, & came to an anker at the Beacons, & continued there until halfe an houre past 10. of the clocke, and then set from thence, the wind being South: our course was West until 5. of the clock in the morning, when as we came to an anker against Newnox towne, where we continued until the 25. day.

The sayd towne of Newnox is from the monasterie of S. Nicholas 35. miles.

25 We departed from Newnox haven at one of the clocke in the after noone, the wind at South and Southeast, and our course Northwest and by West.

The point of Tolstick which is the headland before the entrance of Newnox haven, and the headland of Sevsemski lie next Southeast and by South, Northwest and by North. We came to an anker there this day at 4. of the clock in ye afternoone, being from Newnox haven 15. miles, where we continued in harbour til the 27. day of the moneth, by reason of contrary winds.

27 We departed from Sevsemski in the morning at 5. of the clocke, the wind next at East and by North, and our course Northwest and by West.

The said land of Sevsemski & the headland going into Owna river lieth East and by South, west and by North, and between them is 25. miles.

This day at Sunne set we came to an Island called Sogisney passing betwixt it & the maine, with the wind at South and by East, our course was West and by South, being 85. miles from Owna river.

Being past the said Island 10. miles, the wind came contrary, whereupon we returned to the Island of Sogisney, where we remained until the 29. day.

29 The 29. day we departed from Sogisney aforesayd, at 5. of the clocke in the afternoone, the wind at East northeast, & our course was Southwest & by west, passing by an Island called Anger, being 30. miles from Sogisney, and keeping on our course, we came by the headland of an Island called Abdon, being from the Island of Anger 15. miles, where we found many rocks: and if the great providence of God had not preserved us, wee had there perished, being fallen amongst them in the night time, and our pilot none of the perfectest, which was contrary to his profession as we found it.

But whosoever will travell that way must either keepe hard aboard the shore, for that there is a chanell which goeth along the coast within the rocks, or els give the headland a birth of 6. miles at the least, and so goe a seaboord all: for there are ledges of rocks that lie five miles from the headland.

We gave the headland a birth of 3. miles, notwithstanding there lay two rockes two miles to sea boord of us, so that we were inclosed with them, and sate upon the highest of them: but it pleased God to make it calme, and give us the day also, or els we had miscaried.

30 We departed from the headland of the Island of Abdon, at 4. of the clocke in the morning, directing our

course West, and at 10. of the clocke before noone, we arrived at a monasterie named Solofky, which is 15. miles from Abdon.

At this monasterie we continued untill the 31. day of this moneth. We had here delivered us by the chiefe monkes of the monasterie, their letter and house seale, and a servant of theirs to conduct us safely through the dangerous river of Owiga.

The people of all those parts are wild, and speake another kind of language, & are for the most part all tenants to the monasterie. The effect of the letter was, that they should be ready to helpe and assist us in all dangerous places, and carie our boats and goods over land in places needfull, as in deed they did, as hereafter shall appeare.

Note, that at our being at the monasterie, there was no Abbot for the place as then chosen: for 15. dayes before our arrival there, the Abbot was sent for by the Emperour, and made Metropolitane of the realme, as he now is. The number of monkes belonging to the monasterie are at the least 200.

31 Wee departed from the monasterie of Solofky, as is aforesayde, to a faire stone house of theirs, which is 5. miles from the monasterie, lying from it South and by West.

1 We departed from the Stone house at 3. of the clocke in the morning: our course was West for 60. versts, and then passing betwixt divers and sundry rocks, with many small Islands round about us for the space of 20 miles, keeping most commonly the same course still, we then shaped a new course, and yet sundry times shifting, but we alwayes kept the Southwest, and neerest of all South southwest, until we came within two miles of the entrance of the river Owiga where we were to beare in, West and by North.

From the river Owiga, to the Islands and rocks before mentioned, are 20. miles.

We arrived about 4. of the clocke in the after noone within the river of Owiga, at a place named Soroka, at which place we forsooke our barke or Lodia, & continued there in making provision for small boates to carie us up the river untill the 3. day of the same.

3 We departed from Soroka at two of the clocke in the afternoone, with 3. boats and 12. men to rowe, and

set the foresaid boates up the river of Owiga, which we hired.

We went this day 7. miles to a place called Ostrove, where we lay all night, but in the way 4. miles from Soroka, at a place where the water falleth from the rocks, as if it came steepe downe from a mountain, we were constrained to take out our goods and wares out of the said boats, and caused them to be caried a mile over land, and afterwards also had our boates in like sort caried or drawen over land by force of men which there dwelled, being tenants to the monasterie aforesaid.

And when our boats were come to the place where our wares were laid, we lanchd our boats and laded our wares againe, and went to the place before named, where we continued and remained that night.

We departed from Ostrove in the morning before Sunne rising, rowing and setting up the river 5. miles, where we came to a place whereas we were againe constrained to take out our wares, and to carie them and our boats three miles over land, so that with rowing, drawing and setting, we went this day 7. miles more to a place called Sloboday, where we lay all night.

5 We departed from Sloboday in the morning at Sunne rising, and at sixe of the clocke in the afternoone, we came to a village called Paranda, which is from Sloboday 30. miles, where wee remained all that night.

6 We departed from Paranda at 6. of the clocke in the morning, and all that day what with setting and drawing our boats, we went but 11. miles, for we twice unladed our wares, & drew our boats overland, in one place a mile & an halfe, in another place as it were the eight part of a mile, and so we came to a place called Voyets, where we taried all that night.

7 We departed from Voyets at 4. of the clocke in the morning, & so came to an Oзера or lake, called after the name of the river, & unto a place called Quequenich, wee rowed all this day, and came thither by one of the clock in the afternoone, which is 25. miles from Voyets, and there we remained all night to hire men and boats to carie us forward on our journey.

Here departed backe from us the servant which we had at the Monasterie, being sent by the monkes to go thus far with us. And after that he had hired the boats and taken the mens names that should conduct us, & given

them charge to deliver us with all things in safetie, at a place being a litle towne called Povensa, then hee departed from us without taking any reward for his paines, for so he was charged and commanded by the monkes.

8 We departed from Quequenich at sunne rising, & all that day rowed upon the lake amongst many Islands. The inhabitants doe there report that there are as many Islands in their lake, as there are dayes in the yeere. In the evening we came to a village named Tellekina, which is 60. miles from Quequenich.

9 We departed from Tellekina in the morning at 5. of the clocke, and so entring into a river, we went that day 13. miles. In one place we caried our boates and goods overland 3. miles. At evening we came to a place called Oreiche na maelay, where we lay all night.

10 Wee departed thence at 5. of the clocke in the morning, and so rowing, came to a place where the river ended, being 20. miles distant from the place where wee lay all night, at which place wee forsooke our boates and unladed our wares, and sent a man to the towne of Povensa, which was seven mile off, for horses to cary us and our wares to the said place. The horses came, and we laded our goods, and at sixe of the clocke in the afternoone wee arrived at the towne of Povensa, with all things in safetie.

This towne of Povensa standeth within one mile of the famous lake or Oзера of Onega, which is 320. miles long, and in some places 70. miles over. But where it is narrowest it is 25. miles over, being fed with many goodly rivers which fall into it. Hard aboard the shore within 6. miles, you shall have 40. and 45. fathoms of depth.

Here it is to bee noted that from this place of Povensa unto the village of Soroka downe those dangerous rivers which wee came through, at no time of the yeere can or may any man cary or transport any goods that come from Novogrod, or the Narve, and such other places: for in the Sommer it is impossible to cary downe any wares by reason of the great fals of water that doe descend from the rockes. Likewise in the Winter by reason of the great force and fall of waters which make so terrible raises, that in those places it never freezeth, but all such wares as come from Novogrod to Povensa, are transported by land to a place called Some in the

Winter, which Some standeth on the sea side, as doth Soroka. The ready way from Povensa by land to this place of Some, with the distance of miles I will shew hereafter.

12 We departed from Povensa at 9. of the clocke in the morning, with 2. smal boats which we hired to cary us to a place called Tolvo upon the lake of Onega, being 50 miles from Povensa, where we arrived the 13. day in the morning, where wee bought a boate that caried us and all our wares from thence to the Citie of Novogrod.

14 We departed from Tolvo at 3. of the clocke in the afternoone, and at the evening arrived at a certaine Island named Salasalma, upon the said lake 7. miles from Tolvo, and by reason of contrary windes we there taried untill the 16. day of this moneth.

16 We departed from Salasalma, at 8. of the clocke in the morning, and came to an Island the 17. day in the morning, named Vorrónia, where wee continued by reason of contrary winds, untill the 21. day of the said moneth, and it is 60. miles from Salasalma.

21 We departed from Vorrónia Island two houres before day, and arrived at S. Clements Monasterie at 2. of the clocke in the after noone, being from Vorrónia 48. miles.

22 We departed from S. Clements Monasterie at the breake of the day, having a faire wind all a long the lake : we sailed without striking of saile until two houres within night, and then entred into a river called Swire, at a Monasterie called Vosnessino Christo, five miles from the entrance of the river, where we taried al night. It is from S. Clements Monastery 160. miles : the streame of that river went with us.

23 Wee departed from Vosnessino Christo before Sunne rising, and valed downe the river sometime sailing, and sometime rowing, so that this day wee went 90. miles and lay at night at a place called Vassian.

24 Wee departed from Vassian at the breake of the day, and came to a place called Selucax, where we lay all night, and is 10. miles from Vassian.

25 We departed from Selucaxe at 4 of the clocke in the morning, and entred upon the Lake of Ladiskaie, the winde being calme al that day saving 3. houres, and then it was with us, so that we sailed and rowed that day 10. miles, along upon the said lake, and entred into the

river of Volhuski, which river hath his beginning 20. miles above Novogrod, and runneth through the midst of the Citie, and so falleth into this lake, which is farre longer then the lake of Onega, but it is not so broad. This lake falleth into the sea that commeth from the Sound: where any vessel or boat, having a good pilot, may goe through the Sound into England.

As soone as we were entred into the river, we came to a Monasterie called S. Nicholas Medved, where we lay all that night.

26 Wee departed from S. Nicholas Medved, at five of the clocke in the morning, rowing and drawing our boates all day, and came at night to another Monasterie called Gosnopoli, which is 30 miles from S. Nicholas Medved, where we lay all that night.

27 We departed from Gosnopoli at 6. of the clocke in the morning, and at evening came to a place called Moislave, where we lay all night, being 46. miles from the Monasterie of Gosnopoli.

28 We departed from Moislave, and the saide day at night came to a place called Grussina, 35. miles from Moislave where we lodged.

29 Wee departed from Grussina in the morning, and the same day at evening came to a place called Petroe Svetoe, where we lay all night, being 40 miles from Grussina.

30 We departed from Petro Svetoe in the morning, and at two of the clock in the afternoone we arrived at the Citie of Novogrod, being twentie miles from Petroe Svetoe. Here we found William Rowlie Agent to the company, who was there stayed with all his company, and was not licenced to depart thence for the Mosco, by reason that the plague was then in the Citie of Novogrod. Unto him we delivered all the wares that wee brought from Colmogro, for by the way we sold not a peny worth, the people of the countrey every where be so miserable.

The right way to bring and transport wares from Novogrod to Rose Island into S. Nicholas bay, where our Ships yeerely lade, with the distance of miles from place to place, is as followeth:

20 Miles from Novogrod to Petroe Svetoe.

40 Miles from thence to Grusina.

35 Miles from thence to Moislave.

46 Miles from thence to the Monasterie Gosnopoli.

15 Miles from thence to Ladega towne.

15 Miles from thence to Selvnaz over the lake of Ladega, albeit there be many villages all along the lake.

180 Miles from Ladega towne up the river of Swire, unto the Monasterie of Vosnessino Christo, albeit there are many villages upon the river: for within every five or six miles you shall have villages or small townes.

160 Miles from Vosnessino Christo to S. Clements Monastery, albeit there be many villages all along the lake of Onega.

48 Miles from thence to Voronia.

67 Miles from thence to Tolvo towne: and there are divers villages al along the lake where the carriers may lie, and have meate for man and horse.

50 Miles from thence to Povensa, where Onega lake endeth.

The way from Povensa to Some towne is this:

30 Miles from Povensa to Mastelina.

10 Miles from thence to Tellekina.

30 Miles from thence to Tolvich.

35 Miles from thence to Carraich.

20 Miles from thence to Varnich.

10 Miles from thence to Ostrovo.

15 Miles from thence to Lapina.

20 Miles from thence to Some it selfe.

Note, that from the Citie of Novogrod unto the towne of Some is 936. miles, and from the towne of Some unto the Monasterie of S. Nicholas or Rose Island, over and against where our Ships do ride, is just as many miles as is Soroka village from S. Nicholas, as the Russes doe accompt it, as also we do judge it, namely 325. miles. So that from Novogrod to S. Nicholas road, is by our accompt 1261. miles or versts.

Furthermore it is to be noted that all such wares as shall be bought at Novogrod, and sent to Some towne, must be sent by sled way in the Winter: for if any ware should be sent from Novogrod by water in the spring of the yeere after the yce is gone, then must the said wares remaine at Povensa towne al that Summer, by reason that in the Summer there is no way to goe from Povensa unto Some towne.

At Povensa there are many warehouses to be hired, so

that if there were as much goods as ten ships could cary away, you might have warehouses to put it in : but if there should remaine much ware all the Summer, to be caried in the Winter to Some towne, then horses are not easily to be gotten at that place to cary it thither : so that your wares once bought at Novogrod, you must have cariers there to cary it to the towne of Some by Sleds, whereof you may there have 2000. if you will, by the report of the Russes.

For from Novogrod yerely there go many Sleds in the Winter to fetch salt from Some, with carriers and emptie Sleds there to buy it, and to bring it to Novogrod to sell it in the market or otherwise.

From Novogrod unto Some towne you may have a pood of wares carried for eight pence or nine pence : but in any wise your wares must bee sent from Novogrod by the sixt of January, so that the wares may bee at Some by Candlemas, or soone after : for if your wares should tary by the way untill the 15. of February when the Sunne is of some power, then is it dangerous : for the heate of the Sunne in the day causeth the deepe lakes of Ladega, and specially of Onega to cleave : and if there should come then a sudden thaw, as oftentimes in that time of the yeere doeth, then doe these lakes open and breake, whereby many men are lost, and both men and horse drowned, although other rivers do remaine frozen a long time after.

In the towne of Some also there are many warehouses, whereof we cannot be destitute for the reposing of our wares, as also as many barkes as you wil to transport your wares from thence to S. Nicholas road, and that for three pence a poods caryage : so that from the Citie of Novogrod unto S. Nicholas road you may have wares caried for two altines. The pood commeth unto 23. altines the tunne.

Provided alwayes, that you buy your wares there your selfe, and send it thence : for there is no hope that the natives will bring their wares from Novogrod to Some, in hope to sell unto us, considering the great trade that they have at the Narve, which is within 180 miles off them.

Written by Thomas Southam a servant
to the company.

An Act for the corporation of Merchants adventurers for the discovering of new trades, made in the eight yeere of Queene Elizabeth. Anno 1566.

WHEREAS divers very good Subjects of this Realme of England in the latter ende of the reigne of the late right high and mightie prince our Sovereigne Lord king Edward the sixt, at the gracious incouragement, and right good liking of the said king, and by his Majesties liberall example, did at their adventure, and to their exceeding great charges, for the glory of God, the honor and increase of the revenues of the Crowne, and the common utilitie of the whole Realme of England, set forth three ships for the discovery by Sea, of Isles, lands, territories, dominions, and Seigniories unknownen, and by the Subjects of the sayd late king not commonly by seas frequented: and after that Almighty God had called to his mercie the said king, who died before the finishing and sealing of his most ample and gracious letters of priviledges promised to the said Subjects, as wel in consideration of the said enterprise, as for divers other respects it pleased our late sovereigne Q. Mary, at the humble suites of the same subjects, to graunt by her letters Patents under the great Seale of England, bearing date at Westminster the 26. day of February, in the second yeere of her raigne, for the considerations mentioned in the said letters Patents, to the saide subjects being specially named in the saide letters Patents, and to their successors, that they by the name of Merchants adventurers of England, for the discoverie of lands, territories, Isles, dominions, and Seigniories unknownen, and not before their late adventure or enterprise, by seas or Navigations commonly frequented, should be from thenceforth one body, and perpetual felowship and commualtie of themselves, both in deed and in name, and that the same felowship and commualtie from thenceforth should and might have one or two governours, foure Consuls, and 24. assistants, of the said felowship and comminaltie of Merchants adventurers, and that they by the name of the Governour, Consuls, assistants, felowship, and comminaltie of Merchants adventurers, for the discovery of lands, territories, Isles, dominions, and Seigniories unknownen, by the seas and Navigations, and not before their said late adventure or enterprise, by Seas

frequented, should or might be able in the lawe to implead and to bee impleaded, to answeere and to be answered, to defend and to be defended, before whatsoever Judge or Justice temporall or spiritual, or other persons whatsoever, in whatsoever court or courts, and in all actions, real, personal, and mixt, and in every of them, and in all plaints of Novel deseison, and also in all plaints, sutes, quarrels, affaires, businesse, and demaunds whatsoever they be, touching and concerning the said fellowship and cominalltie, and the affaires and businesse of the same, only in as ample maner and forme, as any other corporation of this Realme might doe, giving also, and granting unto them by the said letters Patents, divers authorities, powers, jurisdictions, preheminences, franchises, liberties and priviledges, as by the same letters Patents more at large will appeare. And among other things mentioned in the said letters Patents, whereas one of the three ships, by the said fellowship before that time set foorth for the voyage of discovery aforesaid, named the Edward Bonaventure, had arrived within the Empire and dominion of the high and mightie Prince Lord John Vasiliwich, Emperour of all Russia, Volodimersky, great duke of Musky, &c. who received the Captaine and Merchants of the saide shippe very graciously, granting unto them freely to traffique with his subjects in all kinde of merchandizes, with divers other gracious priviledges and liberties: therefore the said late Queene by the same letters Patents, for her, her heires and successors, did graunt that all the maine lands, Isles, ports, havens, creeks and rivers of the said mighty Emperour of all Russia, and great duke of Mosco, &c. and all and singular other lands, dominions, territories, Isles, ports, havens, creeks, rivers, armes of the seas, of al and every other Emperour, king, prince, ruler, or governer whatsoever he or they be, before the said late adventure or enterprise not knowen, or by the aforesaid merchants and subjects of the said king and Queene, by the seas not commonly frequented, nor any part or parcell thereof, and lying Northwards, Northeastwards, or Northwestwards, as in the said letters patents is mentioned, should not be visited, frequented nor haunted by any the subjects of the said late Queene, other then of the said company and fellowship, and their successors, without expresse licence, agreement, & consent of the Governer, Consuls,

and Assistants of the said fellowship, and communaltie, or the more part of them, in maner & forme, as is expressed in the saide letters patents, upon paine of forfeiture and losse aswell of the ship and ships, with the appurtenances, as also of the goods, merchandizes, and things whatsoever they be, of those the subjects of the said late Queene not being of the saide fellowship and communaltie, which should attempt or presume to saile to any of those places, which then were, or after should happen to be found and traffiqued unto, the one halfe of the same forfeiture to be to the use of the said late Queene, her heires & successors, and the other halfe to be to the use of the said fellowship & communaltie, as by the same letters patents more plainly will appeare.

Since the making of which letters patens, the said fellowship have, to their exceeding great costes, losses and expences, not onely by their trading into the said dominions of the saide mightie prince of Russia, &c. found out convenient way to saile into the saide dominions : but also passing thorow the same, and over the Caspian sea, have discovered very commodious trades into Armenia, Media, Hyrcania, Persia, and other dominions in Asia minor, hoping by Gods grace to discover also the countrey of Cathaia, and other regions very convenient to be traded into by merchants of this realme, for the great benefite and commodities of the same.

And forasmuch as divers subjects of this realme, understanding the premises, and perceiving that now after the charge and travel aforesaid, divers wares and merchandizes are brought by the saide fellowship into this Realme, out of the dominions already discovered, which bee within this realme of good estimation, minding for their peculiar gaine, utterly to decay the trade of the sayde fellowship, have contrary to the tenor of the same letters patents, in great disorder traded into the dominions of the said mightie prince of Russia, &c. to the great detriment of this common wealth : And for that the name by which the saide fellowship is incorporated by the letters patents aforesaid, is long, & consisteth of very many words : Therefore be it enacted by the Queenes most excellent Majestie, the Lords spiritual and temporal, & the commons in this present parliament assembled, and by authoritie of the same, that the said fellowship, company, society & corporation made or created by the said letters

patents, shal at al time & times from henceforth be incorporated, named and called onely by the name of the fellowship of English merchants, for discovery of new trades, and by the same name for ever shall and may continue a perpetuall body incorporate in deede and name, and onely by the same name from henceforth, shall implead, and be impleaded, answere and be answered, defend and be defended, sue and bee sued, in whatsoever courts and places, and shall and may by the same name bee inabled to purchase, have, holde, possesse, reteine, and enjoy whatsoever manors, landes, tenements, rents, reversions, services, & hereditaments not exceeding a hundred marks yeerely, not being holden of the Queenes majestie, her heires, or successors by knights service in Capite, and all goods, merchandizes, chattels, and other things whatsoever, and shall and may by the same name make and do all things as any other corporation may do, and also shall have and enjoy all and singular the liberties, priviledges, jurisdictions, franchises, preheminences, powers, authorities, and things, and may doe and execute all other matters and things in the sayd letters patents mentioned, or in any wise contained. And that no part nor parcell of the maine lands, Isles, ports, havens, roades, creekes, rivers, armes of the seas of any Emperour, king, prince, ruler or governor whatsoever he or they be, before the said first enterprise made by the merchants of the saide corporation, not knownen by the merchants and subjects of this Realme, or by them not commonly by seas frequented, and lying from the City of London Northwards, Northwestwards, or Northeastwards, nor any part or parcel of the maine lands, dominions, isles, ports, roades, havens, creeks, armes of the Seas, that now be subject to the said high and mightie prince Lord John Vasiliwich, his heires or successours, or to the Emperour, chiefe governour or ruler of the said country of Russia for the time being, his heires or successors, nor the countries of Armenia major or minor, Media, Hyrcania, Persia, or the Caspian sea, nor any part of them shall be sailed or traffiqued unto, visited, frequented, or haunted by any person being or that shalbe a subject or denizen of this realme, by themselves, their factor or factors, or any other to their use or commoditie, by any wayes or meanes, directly or indirectly, other then by the order, agreement, consent, or ratification of the gover-

nour, Consuls and assistants of the saide fellowship and comminaltie, or the more part of them, and their successors for the time being : upon paine that every person and persons offending in this behalfe, shall forfeit and loose, Ipso facto, every such ship and ships, with the appurtenances, and all such goods, Merchandizes, and things whatsoever, as by any such person or perons shalbe by any wayes or meanes, directly or indirectly, provided, caried, conducted, brought or exchanged, in, at, to, through or from any of the places prohibited, as is aforesaide, contrary to the true intent of this statute : the one moietie of all which forfeitures to bee to our said sovereigne Lady the Queenes Majestie, her heires and successors, and the other moitie thereof to the sayde fellowship of English Merchants for discovery of newe trades, and their successors, to be seized and taken where-soever they may be found, by any person or persons, to the use of our said Sovereigne Lady, her heires and successors, and of the said fellowship of English merchants for discovery of newe trades, and of their successors, or the same or the value thereof to bee demaunded or sued for by the Queenes highnesse, her heires and successors, or by the saide fellowship of English Merchants for discovery of newe trades, or their successors, or their attorney or attorneis, or by any person or persons being of the same fellowship of English Merchants for discovery of newe trades, or their successors in any court of Record, or in any other Court or courtes within this Realme, or els where, by Action of debt, action of detinue, bill, plaint, information, or otherwise : in which suite no essoine, protection, wager of lawe, or injunction shall be allowed, for, or on the behalfe of the partie or parties defendant.

Provided alwayes, that whereas divers Subjects of this Realme being not of the fellowship aforesaid, have heretofore made adventures to and from some of the places prohibited by the said letters patents, that the said subjects, their heires, executors, administrators and assignes, or any of them shall not be impeached, impleaded, troubled, sued, nor molested for the same in their goods or persons in any maner of wise, either by our saide sovereigne Lady, her heires or successors, or the said fellowship, or their successors.

Provided also, that it shall be lawfull for any subject

of this Realme, having presently any shipping, goods, wares, or ready money, remayning at or in any place, of or within the dominion of the said mighty prince of Russia, or in any other of the places prohibited to be visited or traffiqued unto by this statute or the said letters Patents, to fetch, bring, and convey the same, or cause the same to be brought or conveyed from thence by sea or otherwise, before the feast of S. John Baptist, which shalbe in the yeere of our Lord God 1568. any thing contained in this statute, or in the said letters Patents to the contrary notwithstanding.

Provided also, that it shall be lawfull for any of the subjects of this Realme, to saile to the port, towne, territorie, or castle of Wardhouse, or to any of the coastes, townes, havens, creekes, rivers, Islands, and land of Norway for trade of fishing, or any other trade there used by the subjects of this Realme, any thing in this statute to the contrary notwithstanding.

And for the better maintenance of the Navie and Mariners of this Realme, be it provided and inacted, that it shall not be lawfull to the saide fellowship and company, nor to any of them to cary and transport, or cause to be caried and transported any commodie of this Realme to their newe trade, but onely in English ships, and to be sailed for the most part with English Mariners, nor also to bring into this Realme nor into Flanders from their saide new trade, any merchandizes, or other commodities but in English ships, and sailed for the most part by the English Mariners, on paine to forfeit for every such offence two hundred pounds, whereof the one moitie shall be to the Queenes Majestie, her heires and successors, the other moitie to the head officers of any port towne, having any haven or harborough decayed, by what name soever they bee incorporate, to the reparation of such harborough, that will sue for the same in any Court of Record, by action, bill, plaint or information, wherein no essoine, protection, or wager of lawe for the defendant shall be admitted or allowed.

Provided also, and be it enacted, that no maner of person or persons shall from henceforth carrie or transport, or cause to bee caried or transported out of this Realme of England, any maner of clothes or karsies into any of the partes where the said fellowship and societie is priviledged to trade by this Act, before the same clothes

and karsies shall be all dressed, and for the most part died within this Realme, upon paine of forfeiture for every such cloth and karsie, otherwise caried and transported, five pounds : the one halfe thereof to the Queenes Majestie, her heires and successors, the other halfe to the Master and Wardens of the Clothworkers in the Citie of London for the time being, by what name soever they be incorporate that wil sue for the same.

Provided also that whensoever the said societie or company shall willingly withdraw, and discontinue wholly by the space of three yeeres in time of peace, the discharging of their merchandizes at the road of S. Nicholas bay in Russia, and doe not discharge their said merchandizes at some other port or roade lying on that North coast of Russia, or other territorie nowe subject to the saide mightie prince of Russia, &c. hitherto by the subjects of this realme not commonly frequented, that then during the time of any such discontinuance and withdrawing, as is aforesaid, it shalbe lawful to all the subjects of this realme to trade to the Narve onely in English bottoms, any thing in this Act to the contrary notwithstanding.

Provided also, that every of the Queenes Majesties Subjects inhabiting within the Citie of Yorke, the townes of Newcastle upon Tine, Hull and of Boston, having continually traded the course of merchandize by the space of ten yeeres, and which before the 25. of December that shalbe in Anno D. 1567. shal contribute, joyne, and put in stocke, to, with, and amongst the said company, such summe & summes of money, as any of the said company, which hath throughly continued and contributed to the saide newe trade, from the yeere 1552. hath done, and before the saide 25. of December 1567. shall do for the furniture of one ordinary, full and intire portion, or share, and do in all things behave himselfe as others of the said societie be bound to doe, and hereafter shall bee bound to do by the priviledges, ordinances and statutes of the saide company, shall from the same 25. day of December 1567. be, and be accompted free, and as one of the said societie and company, and subject to the priviledges, ordinances and statutes of the saide company, reasonably made and to be made, any thing in this present Act to the contrary notwithstanding.

A very briefe remembrance of a voyage made by M. Anthony Jenkinson, from London to Moscovia, sent from the Queenes Majestie to the Emperour, in the yeere 1566.

THE fourth day of May in the yere aforesaid, I embarked my selfe at Gravesend in the good ship called the Harry of London, and having had a prosperous voyage arrived at the bay of S. Nicholas in Russia the 10. day of July following, and immediatly I sent in post to the Emperour to advertise of my comming, and travailing then thorowe the countrey, I with my company came to the Mosco where the Emperour kept his court, the 23. of August, and forthwith gave the Secretarie to understand of my arrivall, who advertised the Emperours Majestie of it, and the first day of September, being a solemne feast among the Russes, I came before the Emperours Majestie, sitting in his seate of honour, and having kissed his hand and done the Queenes Majesties commendations, and delivered her Graces letters and present, he bad me to dinner, which I accepted, and had much honour done unto me both then and all the time of my abode in Russia.

The Priviledges graunted by the Emperour of Russia to the English merchants of that company: obtained the 22. of September, Anno 1567. by M. Anthony Jenkinson.

ONE onely strengthener of all things, and God without beginning, which was before the world, the Father, the Sonne, and the holy Ghost, our onely God in Trinitie, and maker of all things, whom we worship in all things, and in all places, the doer and fulfiller of all things, which is the perfect knowledge giver of the true God, our Lorde Jesus Christ, with the comforter the holy Spirit, and thou which art the strengthener of our faith, keepe us together, & give us health to preserve our kingdome, thou giver of all good fruites, and helper of all Christian beleevers.

We great lord by the grace of God, and great duke John Vasiliwich of all Russia, Volodimer, Mosco, Novogrod, Cazan, Astracan, Plesco, Smolensko, Tweria, Yougorie, Vadika, Bulgar, Sybier and others, Emperour and great duke of Novogrod of the lower land, of Chernygo, Rezan, Polotski, Rostove, Yereslave, Bealozera, Oudoria,

Obdoria, Condensa, and lord of many other lands, and of all the North parts, commander and lord of Liffe-land.

Whereas our sister Queene Elizabeth, by the grace of God, Queene of England, France and Ireland, hath written to us her letters, that wee would graunt her merchants, William Gerrard, William Chester, Rowland Heyward, Lawrence Hussie, John Marsh, Anthony Jenkinson, William Rowly, and their company of England, to come in ships into this kingdome, and those merchants, William Gerrard and his company have required of us that we would graunt and licence them to come into our countrey of Dwina, with all kind of wares at wil, to our City of Mosco, and to all our castles in our kingdomes, we for our sisters sake Elizabeth, by the grace of God, Queene of England, France and Ireland, have licenced her merchants, William Gerrard and his company to passe in ships to our kingdome of Colmogro, and to the land of Dwina, and to all other our inheritances in the North parts, with all kind of wares to our city of Mosco, and to all castles and townes in our kingdome. And sir William Garrard & his company desired of us, that we would grant them licence to passe to our inheritance of Cazan and Astracan, and into our inheritance of Novogrod the great, and to our inheritance of Lifland to Narve and Dorpe, and to other our castles and townes of Lifland, with all kinde of wares, and the trade to be without custome, which request we have granted to sir William Garrard and his company, and have given them licence to passe to our inheritance of Cazan and Astracan, and Novogrod the great, and into our inheritance of Lifland, Narve and Dorpe, and other places of our inheritance in Lifland with all kinde of wares, to buy, barter and sell at will, without custome: and what wares soever they bring out of England, or out of any other countrey, needfull or necessary, that they shall bring all those wares needfull or necessary to our treasury, & those wares there to be opened, and then to take out of the same, such wares as shalbe needfull for our treasury, and the rest being delivered againe, to sell and barter at their pleasure, and to sell none of the fine wares before they be seene by our chancellers, except sorting clothes, and other wares not meet for our treasury: and when our chancellor will send our treasure out of our treasury with them, they shall take it with them, and so sell and barter it for

wares meet for our treasury, and bring it to our treasury, and they to take no other mens wares to barter or sell with them, nor yet our people to buy or sell for them their wares : and if those English merchants do desire to passe out of our kingdome of Astracan to Boghar, Shamaky, Chaday, or into any other countreys, or els to go into their owne country, then they to take their treasure with them, and to barter and sell it for wares necessary for our treasury, and to bring it and deliver it to our chancellor, and when they come backe againe to our inheritance of Cazan and Astracan, or to any other of our castles and townes, that then our captaine of Cazan and Astracan, and all other our people of charge shall not holde them, but with speed let them passe without taking custome of them or their wares, and without opening or looking upon them in any wise : and when they have not our treasure with them, that then likewise no custome shalbe taken of them nor their wares to be seene of any man.

And likewise we have granted them to buy and sell in all our kingdomes and castles, with all kinde of wares : and we have also licenced them, that when those English merchants do desire to buy & sell with our merchants wholly together, that they shall have liberty so to do wholly together : and they that do desire to sell their owne wares by retaile in their owne house, that then they sell it in their own house by retaile to our people & other strangers, as they can agree : and weights and arshnids to be kept in their house with our scale, and they themselves to barter and sell their owne wares : and no Russe merchant in Mosco, or any other place in our kingdome to sell for them any wares, nor to buy or barter any wares for them, nor couler any strangers goods. And whereas those merchants of England, sir William Garrard and his company do desire to sell their wares at Colmogro, Dwina, Vologda, Yeraslave, Costrum, and in Novogrod the lower, Cazan, Astracan, great Novogrod, Plesko, Narve, Dorpe, and in other our townes & castles, they shall have their will to sell it : and of their wares of England and Russe-land no custome shalbe taken, neither they nor their wares shalbe stayed in any place : and when they depart out of Mosco, to advertise our chancellor thereof, and not to give any note or inventory of any kinde of their wares they cary away : and when the English merchants, sir William

Garrard and his company do come upon the sea, and by misfortune have their ships cast away upon those coasts of the North parts, then we will their goods to be sought out with trueth, and to be delivered to sir William Garrard and his company, which as then shall be found in our countrey: and if that sir William Garrards company be not in the Mosco nor in our countrey, then we will and command that those goods of theirs shall be layd up in a place of safegard untill such time as the said sir William Garrard or his company come to demand the same: and then at their comming we will that it shall be delivered And whereas heretofore we have given sir William Garrard and his company in this our kingdome of Mosco the new castle by the church of S. Maxim behinde the market, they shal there still holde their house as heretofore we have given them, paying no custome for the same: and we also do licence them to keepe one Russe porter or two, or els of their owne countrey, and those porters shall dwell with them, and not sell for them, nor barter, nor buy for them: And also I have granted them to buy a house at Vologda and at Colmogro, or in any other place where they can chuse for themselves any good harbour, and there they to set up those houses in those places at their own charges: and in Vologda or the other houses to keepe two or three porters of their owne, or els two or three Russes, and their wares to be layed up in those houses, and to sell their owne wares at will: and the porters without them to sell none of their wares, neither yet to buy any for them. And our ollicers of Colmogro and Dwina, and of other our castles & townes shall not looke over their wares, nor take any custome thereof: neither shall those English merchants sir William Garrard and his company be judged by any of them. And when the English merchants shall send from our kingdome their owne people into their owne countrey by land over other kingdomes whatsoever the be, they may without ware send their owne people at their pleasure. And when any matter of law doth fall out in their trade of merchandise, then they shall be judged by our chancellers, and law shalbe done with equitie betwixt our people and them: and when they cannot be judged by law, they then shalbe tried by lots, and whose lot is first taken out, he shall have the right. And if it happen any of those merchants to have any matter of law in any other part of our dominions for

trade of merchants, then our captaines, judges, and chiefe officers shall heare the matter, and administer justice with equity and trueth, and where law can take no place, to be tried by lots, and his lot that is first taken out to have the right, and for their matters of law no custome to be payed.

Furthermore, we for our sisters sake Elizabeth have granted, that none beside sir William Garrard and his company, out of what kingdome soever it be, England or other, shall not come in trade of merchandise nor otherwise to Colmogro, nor to the river Ob, nor within Wardhouse, nor to Petzora, nor Cola, nor Mezen, nor to the abbey of Petchingo, nor to the Island of Shallawy, nor to any mouth of the river of Dwina, nor to any part of the North countrey of our coast. And if any merchant, out of what countrey soever it be, doe come with ship or shippes, busses, or any other kinde of vessell to any of our harbours, within all our North parts, we will that then the people and goods, ship or ships, shalbe confiscate, and forfeited to us the Emperour and great Duke.

Given in our kingdome and house of Mosco, the yeere from the beginning of the word 7076, in the moneth of September, and in the 34 yeere of our reigne, and in our conquest of Cazan 16, and in our conquest of Astracan 15.

Perused and allowed by us :

{ Anthonie Jenkinson.
William Rowly.
Thomas Hawtry.
Thomas Sowtham.
Rafe Rutter, trans-
latour hereof out of
the Russe tongue.

A letter of M. Henrie Lane to M. Richard Hakluit, concerning the first ambassage to our most gracious Queene Elizabeth from the Russian Emperour anno 1567, and other notable matters incident to those places and times.

WORSHIPFULL sir, because I finde you have the successe and proceedings of Osep Napea the first ambasadour of the Russian Emperour to the Majesties of King Philip and Queene Marie, at what time and at his returne I was remaining in Russia, & do not finde that the perfect

knowledge of the first ambassage from thence to this our Sovereigne Ladie Queene Elizabeth is come to your hands, betweene whose Highnesse and the ambassadours I was interpretour, I thinke good to expresse it. In August Anno 1567 arrived at London with their retinue two especiall authorised messengers, named Stephen Twerdico, and Theodore Pogorella, with letters and presents to her Majesty, at that time being at Otelands, where divers of the chiefe merchants of the Russian company did associate them, and I there doing my duetie and office of interpretour, her Majestie gave them audience. First they rehearsed the long stile and Majesty of their Master, with his most friendly and hearty commendations to her Highnesse, and then they testified the singular great joy and pleasure that he conceived to heare of her most princely estate, dignitie and health: and lastly, they delivered their letters and presents. The presents sent unto her Majesty were Sables, both in paires for tippets, and two timbars, to wit, two times fortie, with Luserns and other rich furies. For at that time that princely ancient ornament of furies was yet in use. And great pitie but that it might be renewed, especiall in Court, and among Magistrates, not onely for the restoring of an olde worshipfull Art and Companie, but also because they be for our climate wholesome, delicate, grave and comely: expressing dignitie, comforting age, and of longer continuance, and better with small cost to be preserved, then these new silks, shagges, and ragges, wherein a great part of the wealth of the land is hastily consumed.

These ambassadours were appointed lodging and enter-teinement by the Moscovie company at their house then in Seething Lane, and were sundrie times after permitted to be in presence. And in May 1568 tooke their leave at Greenwich, where they understood and had the Queenes Majesties minde, letters and reward. At the latter part of her talke, her Highnesse considering that our trade to Saint Nicholas since the beginning had bene offensive to divers princes, states, and merchants Eastward, used these speeches or the like: Who is or shall be more touched by detractours, with flying tales and untrue reports, then Princes and Rulers, to the breach of love and unitie? your Master and I in things that passe by word and writing, I doubt not will keepe and performe promises. If he heare the contrary of me, let him suspend

his judgement, and not be light of credit, and so will I. These words they termed her Majesties golden speech: and kneeling downe, kissed her hand, and departed.

The letters that these two messengers brought, were delivered to me by my Lord Treasurour, being then Secretarie, to be translated, the copies whereof I had, but now cannot finde. The copie of the Queenes Majesties letter I send inclosed herewith unto your worship. I also have sent you a copy of a letter written from the king of Polonia to the Queenes Majestie, with other letters from some of our nation and factours, declaring the displeasure for our trafficke to the Russes from anno 1558 to the yere 1566, especially by the way of the Narve: in which yere of 1566, having generall procuracion and commission from the Company, I was in the Low countrey at Antwerpe and Amsterdam, and sometimes in company with Polacks, Danskers, and Easterlings: and by reason I had bene a lidger in Russia, I could the better reply and prove, that their owne nations and the Italians were most guiltie of the accusations written by the king of Poland.

This king Sigismundus (whose ambassadours very sumptuous I have seene at Mosco) was reported to be too milde in suffering the Moscovites. Before our trafficke they overranne his great dukedome of Lituania, and tooke Smolensco, carrying the people captives to Mosco. And in the yere 1563, as appeareth by Thomas Alcocks letter, they suffered the Russe likewise in that Duchy to take a principall city called Polotzko, with the lord and people thereof. Likewise the said Sigismundus and the king of Sweden did not looke to the protection of Livonia, but lost all, except Rie and Revel, and the Russe made the Narve his port to trafficke, not onely to us, but to Lubec and others, generall. And still from those parts the Moscovites were furnished out of Dutchland by enterlopers with all arts and artificers, and had few or none by us. The Italians also furnished them with engines of warre, and taught them warrelike stratagemes, and the arte of fortification. In the dayes of Sigismund, the Russe would tant the Polacks, that they loved their ease at home with their wives, and to drinke, and were not at commandement of their king. This Sigismund had to wife the daughter of Ferdinando, Charles the fifts brother, and he died without issue. Since which time their late elected king Stephanus Batore kept the Russe in better order, and

recovered Polotzko againe in the yere 1579. Thus with my heartie farewell I take my leave of your worship.

Your assured friend Henrie Lane.

A Letter of the most excellent Majestie of Queene Elizabeth, sent by Stephen Twerdico and Pheodata Pogorella, messengers of the Emperour of Russia, unto their Master the ninth of May 1568.

Imperatorī Moscovitarum, &c.

ELIZABETHA &c. Literas vestræ Majestatis superiori anno 1567, decimo die mensis Aprilis datas, vestri mercatores Stephanus Twerdico, & Pheodata Pogorella, qui has nostras perferunt, nobis tradidêre. Quos vestros mercatores in omni suo apud nos & nostros obeundo negotio, ita tractari, & libenti voluntate, & expresso nostro mandato curavimus, ut non solum vestræ Majestatis pro illis postulationi, sed eorundem etiam hominum expectationi plenè satisfactum esse confidamus. Id quod eò fecimus studiosiùs, quod plane perspectum, probèque cognitum habeamus, nostros omnes, qui bona cum gratia nostra, nostrarúmque literarum commendatione, istuc, sub vestro imperio negotiaturi veniunt, pari, cum vestræ Majestatis favore, tum vestrorum subditorum humanitate, ubivis acceptos esse. Quæ nostra utrobique, & mutuæ inter nos amicitia, & gratæ inter nostros benevolentia officia, ut crebra & perpetua existant, nos admodum postulamus. Quem animi nostri sensum fusius hi vestri, & opportunius suo sermone coram declarabunt: Quibus non dubitamus, quin vestra Majestas amplam fidem sit tributura. Deus &c. Grenovici nono die Maii 1567.

The Ambassage of the right worshipfull Master Thomas Randolfe, Esquire, to the Emperour of Russia, in the yeere 1568, briefly written by himselfe.

THE 22 day of June, in the yere of our Lord 1568, I went aboard the Harry, lying in the road at Harwich with my company, being to the number of fortie persons or thereabout: of which the one halfe were gentlemen, desirous to see the world.

Within one dayes sailing, we were out of the sight of land, and following our course directly North, till we came to the North Cape, we sailed for the space of twelve dayes with a prosperous winde, without tempest or

outrage of sea: having compassed the North Cape we directed our course flat Southeast, having upon our right hand Norway, Wardhouse, Lapland, all out of sight till we came to Cape Gallant: and so sailing betweene two bayes, the two and thirtieth day after our departure from Harwich, we cast ancre at Saint Nicholas road. In all the time of our voyage, more then the great number of Whales ingendering together, which we might plainly beholde, and the Sperma Cetæ, which we might see swimming upon the sea, there was no great thing to be woondered at. Sometimes we had calmes, wherein our Mariners fished, and tooke good store of divers sorts. At S. Nicholas we landed the 23 of July, where there standeth an abbey of Monks (to the number of twentie) built all of wood: the apparell of the Monks is superstitious, in blacke hoods, as ours have bene. Their Church is faire, but full of painted images, tapers, and candles. Their owne houses are low, and small roomes. They lie apart, they eat together, and are much given to drunkennesse, unlearned, write they can, preach they doe never, ceremonious in their Church, and long in their prayers.

At my first arrivall I was presented from their Prior with two great rie loaves, fish both salt and fresh of divers sorts, both sea fish and fresh water, one sheepe alive, blacke, with a white face, to be the more gratefull unto me, and so with many solemne words inviting me to see their house, they tooke their leave.

Towne or habitation at S. Nicholas there is none more then about foure houses neere the abbey, and another built by the English Company for their owne use.

This part of the countrey is most part wood, saving here and there pasture & arable ground, many rivers and divers Islands uninhabited, as the most part of the countrey is, for the coldnesse in Winter.

S. Nicholas standeth Northeast: the elevation of the pole 64 degrees. The river that runneth there into the sea is called Dwina, very large, but shallow. This river taketh his beginning about 700 miles within the countrey, & upon this river standeth Colmogro, and many prety villages, well situated for pasture, arable land, wood, and water. The river pleasant betweene hie hils of either side inwardly inhabited, and in a maner a wilderness of hie firre trees, and other wood.

At Colmogro being 100 versts, which we account for

three quarters of a mile every verst, we taried three weeks, not being suffered to depart before the Emperour had word of our comming, who sent to meet us a gentleman of his house, to convey us, and to see us furnished of victuals, and all things needfull, upon his owne charge.

The allowance of meat and drinke was for every day two rubbles, besides the charge of boats by water, and foure score post horses by land, with above 100 carts to cary my wines, and other cariage.

Colmogro is a great towne builded all of wood, not walled, but scattered house from house. The people are rude in maners, and in apparell homely, saving upon their festivall, and marriage dayes.

The people of this town finding commodity by the English mens traffike with them are much at their commandement, given much to drunkennesse, and all other kinde of abominable vices.

In this towne the English men have lands of their owne, given them by the Emperour, and faire houses, with ollices for their commodity, very many.

Of other townes untill I come to Vologda, I write not, because they are much like to this, and the inhabitants not differing from them.

I was five whole weeks upon the river of Dwina till I came to Vologda, being drawn with men against the streame, for other passage there is none.

Vologda standeth upon the river of Vologda, which commeth into Dwina. The towne is great and long, built all of wood, as all their townes are.

In this towne the Emperour hath built a castle invironed with a wall of stone, and bricke, the walles faire and hie, round about. Here (as in all other their townes) are many Churches, some built of bricke, the rest of wood, many Monks and Nunnes in it: a towne also of great traffike, and many rich merchants there dwelling.

From hence we passed by land towards Mosco in poste, being 500 versts great, which are equall with our miles. In their townes we baited or lay, being post townes.

The countrey is very faire, plaine & pleasant, well inhabited, corne, pasture, medowes enough, rivers, and woods, faire and goodly.

At Yeraslave we passed the river of Volga, more then a mile over. This river taketh his beginning at Beal Ozera,

& descendeth into Mare Caspium, portable thorow of very great vessels with flat bottomes, which farre passe any that our countrey useth.

To saile by this river into Mare Caspium the English company caused a barke to be built of 27 tunns, which there was never seene before : This barke built, and ready rigged to the sea with her whole furniture cost not the company above one hundreth marks there.

To Mosco we came about the end of September, received by no man, not so much as our owne countrey-men suffered to meet us, which bred suspition in me of some other course intended, then we had hitherto found.

We were brought to a house built of purpose by the Emperour for Ambassadors, faire and large, after the fashion of that countrey.

Two gentlemen were appointed to attend upon me, the one to see us furnished of victuals, and that we lacked nothing of the Emperors allowance : the other to see that we should not goe out of the house, nor suffer any man to come unto us, in which they left nothing undone that belonged to their charge. But specially he that looked to our persons so straightly handled us, that we had no small cause to doubt that some evill had bene intended unto us. No supplication, sute, or request could take place for our liberty, nor yet to come to his presence.

Having passed over 17 weeks in this sort, the Emperour sendeth word that we should be ready against Tuesday the 20 of Februarie, at eight a clocke in the morning.

The houre being come that I should goe to the Court, the two gentlemen Pristaves (as they call them) came unto me apparelled more princely then before I had ever seene them. They presse us to depart, and mounted up their owne horses, and the Ambassador upon such a one as he had borrowed, his men marching on foot, to their great grieve.

The Ambassadour (being my selfe) was conveyed into an office where one of the chancellors doeth use to sit, being there accompanied with the two foresayd gentlemen : I taried two long houres before I was sent for to the Emperor. In the end message being brought that the Emperour was set, I was conveyed by my gentlemen up a paire of staires thorow a large roome, where sate by my estimation 300 persons, all in rich attire, taken out of the Emperors wardrobe for that day, upon three ranks

of benches, set round about the place, rather to present a majestie, then that they were either of quality or honor.

At the first entry into the chamber I with my cap gave them the reverence, such as I judged their stately sitting, grave countenances, and sumptuous apparell required, and seeing that it was not answered againe of any of them I covered my head, and so passing to a chamber where the Emperor was, there received me at the doore from my two gentlemen or governors, two of the Emperors counsellors, and shewed me to the Emperor, and brought me to the middle of the chamber, where I was willed to stand still, and to say that which I had to say. I by my Interpreter opened my message as I received it from the Queene my Mistresse, from whom I came, at whose name the Emperor stood up, and demanded divers questions of her health and state: whereunto answere being made, he gave me his hand in token of my welcome, and caused me to sit downe, and further asked me divers questions.

This done, I delivered her Majesties present, which was a notable great Cup of silver curiously wrought, with verses graven in it, expressing the histories workmanly set out in the same.

All being sayd and done (as appeared) to his contentment, he licenced me and my whole company to depart, who were all in his presence, and were saluted by him with a nod of his head, and sayd unto me: I dine not this day openly for great affaires I have, but I will send thee my dinner, and give leave to thee and thine to go at liberty, and augment our allowance to thee, in token of our love and favor to our sister the Queene of England.

I with reverence tooke my leave, being conveyed by two other of greater calling then those that brought me to the Emperors sight, who delivered me to the two first gentlemen, who conducted me to the office where I first was, where came unto me one called the Long duke, with whom I conferred a while, and so returned to my lodging.

Within one houre after in comes to my lodging a duke richly apparelled, accompanied with fiftie persons, ech of them carying a silver dish with meat, and covered with silver. The duke first delivered twenty loaves of bread of the Emperors owne eating, having tasted the same, and delivered every dish into my hands, and tasted of every kinde of drinke that he brought.

This being done, the duke and his company sate downe with me, and tooke part of the Emperors meat, and filled themselves well of all sorts, and went not away from me unrewarded.

Within few nights after the Emperor had will to speake secretly with me, and sent for me in the night by the Long duke: The place was farre off, and the night colde, and I having changed my apparell into such as the Russes do weare, found great incommoditie thereby.

Having talked with him above three houres, towards the morning I was dismissed, and so came home to my lodging, where I remained above six weeks after, before I heard againe from the Emperour, who went the next day to Slovida, the house of his solace. After the end of which six weeks, which was about the beginning of April, the Emperour returned from Slovida aforesayd, and sent for me againe to make repaire unto him. And being come, I dealt effectually with him in the behalfe of our English merchants, and found him so graciously inclined towards them, that I obtained at his hands my whole demands for large privileges in generall, together with all the rest my particular requests. And then he commended to my conduct into England, a noble man of his, called Andrew Savin, as his Ambassadour, for the better confirmation of his privileges granted, and other negotiations with her Majesty. And thus being dispatched with full contentment, the sayd Ambassadour and my selfe departed, and imbarked at S. Nicholas about the end of July, and arrived safely at London in the moneth of September following.

A copie of the priviledges granted by the right high and mightie Prince, the Emperour of Russia, &c. unto the right worshipfull fellowship of English merchants, for the discoverie of new trades: and hither sent by Thomas Randolfe esquire, her Majesties Ambassadour to the sayd Emperour, and by Andrew Savin his Ambassadour in the yere of our Lord God 1569.

ONE God everlasting, and without and before the beginning, the Father, the Sonne, and the holy Ghost, the blessed Trinitie, our onely God, maker, and preserver of all things, and replenisher of all things every where, who by thy goodnesse doest cause all men to love the giver of wisdomes our onely Mediatour, and leader of us all unto

blessed knowledge by the onely Sonne his word, our Lord Jesus Christ, holy and everlasting Spirit, and now in these our dayes teachest us to keepe Christianitie, and sufferest us to enjoy our kingdome to the happy commodity of our land, and wealth of our people, in despite of our enemies, and to our fame with our friends.

We John Vasiliwich by the grace of God, great lord, Emperour, and great duke of all Russia, Volodemer, Moscovia, Novogrod, Emperour of Cazan, Tversky, Vgorsky, Permisky, Vadsky, Bulgaria, and many others, lord and great duke of the Low countreys of Novogrod, Chernigosky, Resansky, Polotsky, Rastow, Yeraslave, Bealosera, Owdorsky, Condinsky, and all Siberland, great commander of all the North parts, lord of Leifland, and many other Northward, Southward and Westward.

Whereas our sister Elizabeth by the grace of God Queene of England, France and Ireland, defender of the faith, hath written unto us her letters for her merchants, who hath made sute that we should grant our goodnesse to the merchants which are of one Company, and give them free leave to come to traffike in our kingdome to Colmogro, and to the countrey of Dwina, and to our great citie of Moscovia, and to all the cities in our dominions, and thorow our countrey to Boghar, to Persia, Casbin, and Charday, and to all other countreys.

1 We John Vasiliwich Emperour and great duke of all Russia (for our sister Elizabeths sake, Queene of England) have given and granted to the English merchants, the Governours, Consuls, Assistants & fellowship, sir Wil. Garrard Knight, Rowland Haiward Alderman, Joh. Thamworth Esquire, John Rivers Alderman, Henry Beecher Alderman, Consuls: Sir Wil. Chester Knight, Edward Jackman Alderman, Lionel Ducket Alderman, Edward Gilbert, Laurence Huse, Francis Walsingham, Clement Throgmorton, John Quarles, Nicholas Wheeler, Thomas Banister, John Harrison, Francis Burnham, Anthony Gamage, John Somers, Richard Wilkinson, Joh. Sparke, Richard Barne, Robert Woolman, Thomas Browne, Thomas Smith, Thomas Allen, Thomas More, William Bully, Richard Yong, Thomas Atkinson, Assistants: John Mersh Esquire, Geofrey Ducket, Francis Robinson, Matthew Field, & all the rest of their company and fellowship, and to their successours and deputies, to come with ships and other vessels into our Countrey, at

Colmogorod, & Dwina, and to all the North parts now being ours, or that hereafter shall at any time be in our possession, by sea, river or land, even to our great Citie of Mosco, in all the townes of our Countrey, to Cazan and Astracan, to Novogorod the great, to Plesko & Leisland, Vriagorod, to Narve, and all other townes of Leisland. 2 And to passe through our land to Boghar, Persia, Casbin, Charday, and other Countreyes : And wheresoever they come there to be and abide freely, and to barter and bargain freely all wares of sale, without custome of all people, and Marchants strangers whatsoever.

And if so be they bring any fine wares out of Englande, or any other Countrey from Boghar, Persia, Casbin, or from any other place, & those their wares that come by the way of Narve, or any other part into our Dominion, to bring the same wares into our treasure, and our Treasurers to view the same wares, and to take into our Treasurie of the same such as shalbe needfull for us. And all such wares as we shal not need, our Chancellour to redeliver ye same : And after the view of our Chancellours, to barter it freely to whom they will, not selling any of their wares needful for us, before our Chancellour have seene the same. And all other grosse and heavy wares that shall be needfull to our use, not being brought to Mosco, to declare & tell our Chancellour of the same wares : And to give a note thereof by name, and how much they leave there, not brought to Mosco : and then if we neede not the said wares, the English Marchants, their servants & Factors, to convey their wares the neerest way to Ustiug the great, and so to Colmogorod, or elsewhere at their pleasure, there to barter and sell the same. But those wares that shalbe needfull for our Treasurie, they shall not hide from us in any case.

And when our Chauncellours shall send our adventure, with the said Marchants or their Factors, they to take our adventures with them, and to sell, & to barter for such wares as shalbe meete for our Treasurie, and to returne it into our Treasurie.

And when we shall sende any adventure into England then our Chauncellour to give them a yeeres warning, that their ships may be provided thereafter, that by taking in of our wares, they leave not their owne behind them.

And to take our adventure yeerely when they goe into Persia.

Neither shall the English marchants receive or colour any of our peoples goods, nor barter nor sell it in any wise: likewise our people not to barter for the sayd English marchants or occupy for them.

3 And when they shall come into our Empire of Casan and Astracan, and other places of our Dominions, then our Captaines of Casan and Astracan, and our authorised people, quitely to let them passe, not taking any toll or custome of their wares; nor once to make search thereof.

And when we shal send no adventure with them, yet to suffer them freely to passe, not viewing their wares, nor taking any kinde of custome. And whatsoever English marchant will bargaine with our Marchants or Factors ware for ware to barter the same at their pleasure.

And whatsoever their Marchant or Factors will sell their wares at their house at Mosco, which house I granted them at S. Maxims at the Mosco, they to sel the ware to our people, either strangers as they may best utter it, keeping within their house, arshines, measures, and waights under seales.

4 We have granted them the saide house at S. Maxims in the halfe free, and without standing rent, as heretofore we did graunt it the said English Marchants, sir Wil. Garrard, and the Company, maintayning in the said house one housekeeper a Russe, and two Russe servants, or some of their owne countrey men, and none other Russes besides the aforesayde. And the said housekeepers that shal live at their house with the English marchants, neither to buy nor sel any wares for them, but that the said marchants themselves or their factors, shall buy, sell, and barter their owne wares: and our Moscovie marchants not to take the said Englishmens wares to sell them in our townes, nor to buy any wares for them, neither the English marchant to colour any Russes wares at any towne.

5 And whatsoever English marchant will sell his wares at Colmogorod, Dwyna, Vologda, Yeraslave, Castran, Novogorod the lower, Casan, Astracan, Novogrod the great, Vopsko, the Narve, Vriagorod, or at any other townes, they to sel their wares there at their pleasure: And of all wares aswell of other countreis as of Russia, no officer or other to take any custome, neither in any place to stay them in any wise, neither take any kinde of toll of them for their wares whatsoever.

6 And whatsoever marchant shall bargain or buy any wares of English marchants: The said Russe not to returne those wares upon the marchants hands againe, but to give ready money for the said wares, otherwise they to crave the Justice to give right, and to execute the lawe upon the same with all expedition. And when the English marchants or factors shal travaile from Moscovie after the dispatch of their wares and businesse, then to shew themselves unto our Chancellours, whatsoever wares of theirs shall goe from Mosco, they not to shew the same wares to any our officers, nor pay no custome nor toll in any place.

7 If it so happen the English marchants have any wracke, and the shippes be brought to any port of our Dominions, we to command the said goods to be enquired and sought out, and to be given to the English merchants, being here abiding at that time in our Countrey, the factors, servants, or deputies, of the Company aforesayd, to whom we have granted this our gracious letter.

And if there happen none of the English merchants, factors, servants, or deputies to be in our Countreis at such time, then we wil all the said goods to be sought out and bestowed in some convenient place, and when any of the Company aforewritten, bringing these our letters; shall come for their goods, we to command their goods to be restored unto them.

8 Likewise wee have graunted leave to the English merchants, their Governours, Consuls, and assistants, namely, sir William Garrard knight, Rowland Hayward, and to the Companie, to builde houses at Vologda, Colmogro, and the seaside, at Ivangorod, at Cherell, and in all other places of our Dominions, as shall be needefull for their trade. And they to keepe at the said house one housekeeper, a Russe, and two or three men to keepe their wares at the said houses, making sale thereof to whom they will, they, their Factors or deputies: the said housekeeper not to buy or sell for them.

9 Also we have given and graunted to the English Merchants, their house which they have by our goodnesse at S. Maximes in the Zenopski, and other their houses in the towne of Zenopski, made for the better assurance of their goods, and all such as they shall set up hereafter shal be of the Opressini, and will make them knownen to all them of Opressini.

10 And whereas by our goodnes we have graunted them a Ropehouse at Vologda, being farre from the English Merchants house, now we have given them to build a house for that use by the said English house, and have given and graunted them (of our goodnesse) ground, one hundreth and fourescore fadome long, and fiftie fadomes in breadth, according to their owne request.

11 Also, we have of our goodnesse given and graunted to the English Merchants, leave to buy them a house at Wichida, and there to search out mines of yron. And where they shal happily find it, there to set up houses for the making of the same yron: and to make the same, of our goodnesse have graunted them woods, five or sixe miles compasse about the sayd houses, to the making of the sayd yron, and not to exceede these bounds and limits: And where they shall cut the sayde wood, not to set up any village or farme there, bringing the artificers for making of their yron, out of their owne Countrey, and to learne our people that arte, and so freely occupying the said yron in these our Dominions, transporting also of the same home into Englande, allowing for every pound one dingo, or halfe penie.

12 And if any of the said yron shalbe needfull for our workes, then we to take of the said yron to our worke, upon agreement of price, paying money out of our Treasurie for the same: And when the said English Merchants or Factors shal send their owne people out of our Realme into their Countrey, over land through any Countrey whatsoever, freely to send the same with our words.

13 Also, we of our goodnesse have graunted, that if any man misuse the said English, the Factors or servants, or the saide English Merchants, their Factors or servants abuse any other at Moscovie, or any other out townes whatsoever within our Dominions in trade of Marchandise or otherwise, then they to have upright justice in all such matters of our counsaile the Opressini without all let or delay: But if our Justice may not agree the parties, then lots to be made, and to whose lotte it shall fall, to him the right to be given, and that only our counsaile at Moscovie, and none of our Captaines, or authorised people, or officers in any other our townes, give judgement upon the said English Merchants for any thing.

14 Also, if any stranger shall have matter of contro-

versie with any English Merchant, Factor or servant, abiding within these our Realmes, or contrariwise any English Merchant, Factor or servant, against any other stranger, in all those causes our Counsaile of the Opressini, to give them Justice, and to make an agreement & end betweene the parties, without all delay : And none to deale therein, save our Counsaile of the Opressini
 15 And if any man have action against any English Merchant being absent, that then in his absence it shalbe lawful for any other Englishman at his assignation to answere his cause.

16 If any Englishman happen to be wounded or beaten to death, or any Russe or stranger slaine or beaten,
 17 Or any stollen goods to be found in the said English houses, then our Counsellers to cause the guiltie persons to be sought out, and to doe right and Justice in the cause, and the partie that is guiltie, if he deserve punishment, to be corrected accordingly after his offence : That the said English Merchants, factors and servant, sustaine thereby no hinderance or damage.

18 And whatsoever English Marchant, Factor, servant, or deputie, shalbe guiltie of any fault, deserving our displeasure, then our Counsellers to cause the guiltie partie to goe under suerties, and their goods to be sealed and kept, untill our pleasure be further knowen, and our Counsaile to examine their offence, and so to report it unto us, that we may command what shall be done therein, and none other to be arrested or have their goods sealed, which are not guiltie of that offence, nor to stay or apprehend them in any of our Dominions for the same.

19 If any English Marchant, Factor or servant shall offend, it shalbe lawfull for their Agent to doe justice upon the said partie, or to send him home into England at his pleasure.

20 If any English Marchant, Factor or servant, have lent or hereafter shall lende money to any of our people, or credite them with wares, and so depart into any forreigne Countrey, or die before the debt be due to be payde, then our people and Marchants to paye the sayde debt, to whom soever shall be appointed to the sayd roome or charge, and the saide English Marchant, factor, or servant, to bring his bill of debt to our Counsell, to shewe them what is due, and what money is owing them for any wares : and thus to doe truly, not adding any whit

to the debt, and our Counsel to command the debt to be discharged unto the English Marchant, factor, or servant, without delay.

21 And whatsoever English Marchant shall be arrested for debt, then our Counsell to command the partie under arrest to be delivered to the Agent: and if he have no suertie, to binde the Agent with him, for the better force of the bond.

And if any Englishman be endebted, we will the Creditor not to cast him in prison, or to deliver him to the Sergeant, lest the officer lose him, but to take ware in pawne of the debt.

22 Also of our goodnes, we have granted the English Marchants to send our Commission to all our Townes, Captaines, and authorised men, to defende and garde the said Marchants from all theeves, robbers, and evill disposed persons.

23 If in comming or going to and fro our dominions, the Marchants, the factors, or servants be spoyled on the sea, our Counsell shall send our letters, and will them to be sought out, and where they shall finde the goods, cause it to be restored againe, and the offender to be punished, according to our commandement.

24 Also of our goodnes, we have granted the saide Merchants to take up Brokers, Packers, Wayers, and such like labourers, as shall be needefull for them, paying for their hier as the labourers and they shall agree.

25 We likewise of our goodnes, have licensed the English Marchants in our Townes of Mosco, Novogorod the great, and Plesko, that the Coiners of the said Townes shall melt Dollers, and coine money for them, without custome, allowing for coales, and other necessities, with the workemanship.

26 Also of our goodnes, we have granted to the sayd English Merchants, to take poste horse at needfull times, leaving with our officers a note how many they take, and not else, in no case hindering or diminishing our treasure.

27 Also for our sister Queene Elizabeths sake, we of our goodnes have granted to the merchants within written, this our letter, and to their successors, that no Englishman, nor any other stranger, come without the Queenes leave to Colmogorode, the river of Vob, Vasiagy, Pechora, Cola, Mezena, Pechingo, Zelevetskyes Island, the river of

Shame, nor to no other haven of Dwina, nor to any part of the northside of Dwina by hetherward of Wardhouse, to any haven, with shippe, Busse, or any other vessell, nor to occupie in any kind of waies, but onely the said English companie, and their successors, to whom we of our goodnes have granted this priviledge.

28 Also that no English Merchant, without the Queenes leave, shall come with any wares, to the Narve, or Uriogorod.

29 And whatsoever English Merchant, stranger, or other, of whatsoever Countrey he be, shall come with any shippe, Busse, or any other vessel, to any of the said havens, of the north side, to any part of Dwina, by North the Narve, or Uriogorod, without the Queenes leave or knowledge, not being of the company above written, we to apprehende and take the same vessell from those strangers and Merchants, the one halfe to us the Emperour, and great Duke, and the other halfe to the company of English Merchants.

30 Also of our goodnes we have granted the said company of English merchants, that no English merchants or strangers shall passe through our dominions, to Boghar, Persia, Casbin, Charday, or other Countreys, save onely the company of English merchants, and our owne messengers.

31 Also whatsoever Englishman, comming out of England or any other Countrey, into our dominions, without the Queenes leave, and knowledge, not being of the sayd company, written within those our letters, mind, and purpose, to abide in our realme, contrary to the Queenes will and pleasure, or any way abuse himselfe, the Agent shall freely send him home, to the Queene his Sovereigne: which if the Agent of himselfe be unable to do, let him pray for ayd of the captaines and officers of our townes there being, and so send him to prison, and will the sayd captaines not to hinder the sayd Agent from sending home such evill persons into England.

32 And if any man within our countrey runne away to any other towne or place, the English merchants and factours, to have free libertie to apprehend him, and take their goods from him againe.

33 And as for our privilege given to Thomas Glover, Ralfe Rutter, Christopher Bennet, John Chappell, and their adherents, we have commanded the same privileges to be taken from them.

34 Also we of our goodnesse have granted the sayd company of English merchants, their successours, servants and deputies, that doe or shall remaine at Mosco, or elsewhere within our dominions freely to keepe their owne law: and in any wise none of ours to force them to our law or faith against their will.

Moreover, besides and with the company of English merchants, we permit all strangers, to trade to our towne of Narve, Ivanogorod, & other our townes of Liefland, as they have done beforetime. Given from the beginning of the world 7077, in the moneth of June 20, Indiction 12, the yere of our lordship and reign 35, and of our Empire of Rusland 23, Cazan 17, Astracan 15.

Other speciall grants by his Majesties private letters at the sute of M. Randolfe Ambassadour.

RELEASEMENT out of prison of Fitzherbert, that was accused for writing of letters against the Emperour.

Liberty given to Thomas Greene that was accused and troubled upon suspition of his dealing with the Ambassadour, and licence given to him to trafficke as he was accustomed.

Andrew Atherton and his sureties released at the Narve and his servant at the Mosco, that were in trouble for sending the merchants letters into England.

A letter granted to Thomas Southam to the Councell, for justice against them that stole the pearles.

His Majesties favor promised to the Artificers, and livings to be appointed them as they can best deserve.

A letter to the merchants that went into Persia, to passe freely without impeachment in his dominions, as also letters of favour to the great Shaugh of Persia.

A grant unto the company that at what time soever they send to the discovery of Cataya, they shalbe licenced to repaire unto this countrey, and have such conducts and guides, mariners, vessels, men and victuals as they shall stand in need of.

It is also promised by Knez Alfanas, and Peter Gregorich in the Emperours name, that if Benet Butler or any English man complaine, deface, hinder in way of traffike or otherwise go about to discredit the worshipfull company, and their doings, that therein they shall not be heard, and the doers to be punished, as in such cases they shalbe judged to have deserved.

Certaine persons granted to be sent home into England that served the company, and were practisers against them in that countrey.

A Commission given by us Thomas Randolfe Ambasadour for the Queenes Majestie in Russia, and Thomas Bannister, &c. unto James Bassendine, James Woodcocke and Richard Browne, the which Bassendine, Woodcocke, and Browne we appoint joynly together, and aiders, the one of them to the other, in a voyage of discovery to be made (by the grace of God) by them, for searching of the sea, and border of the coast, from the river Pechora, to the Eastwards, as hereafter followeth Anno 1588. The first of August.

INPRIMIS, when your barke with all furniture is ready, you shall at the beginning of the yere (assoone as you possibly may) make your repaire to the Easterne part of the river Pechora, where is an Island called Dolgoieve, and from thence you shall passe to the Eastwards alongst by the Sea coast of Hugorie, or the maine land of Pechora, and sailing alongst by the same coast, you shall passe within seven leagues of the Island Vaigats, which is in the straight, almost halfe way from the coast of Hugorie, unto the coast of Nova Zembla, which Island Vaigats and Nova Zembla you shall finde noted in your plat, therefore you shall not need to discover it: but proceed on alongst the coast of Hugory, towards the river Obba.

There is a Bay betweene the sayd Vaigats, and the river Obba, that doth bite to the Southwards, into the land of Hugory, in which Bay are two small rivers, the one called Cara Reca, the other Naramsy, as in the paper of notes which are given to you herewith may appeare: in the which Bay you shall not need to spend any time for searching of it, but to direct your course to the river Ob (if otherwise you be not constrained to keepe alongst the shore) and when you come to the river Ob you shall not enter into it, but passe over unto the Easterne part of the mouth of the sayd river.

And when you are at the Easterne part of the mouth of Obba Reca, you shall from thence passe to the Eastwards, alongst by the border of the sayd coast, describing the same in such perfect order as you can best do it. You shall not leave the sayd coast or border of the land,

but passe alongst by it, at least in sight of the same, untill you have sailed by it so farre to the Eastwards, and the time of the yeere so farre spent, that you doe thinke it time for you to returne with your barke to Winter, which travell may well be 300 or 400 leagues to the Eastwards of the Ob, if the Sea doe reach so farre as our hope is it doth : but and if you finde not the said coast and sea to trend so farre to the Eastwards, yet you shall not leave the coast at any time, but proceed alongst by it, as it doth lie, leaving no part of it unsearched, or scene, unlesse it be some bay, or river, that you doe certainly know by the report of the people, that you shall finde in those borders, or els some certeine tokens whereby you of your selves may judge it to be so. For our hope is that the said border of land and sea doth in short space after you passe the Ob, incline East, and so to the Southwards. And therefore we would have no part of the land of your starreboord side, as you proceed in your discovery, to be left undiscovered.

But and if the said border of land do not incline so to the Eastwards as we presuppose it, but that it doe prove to incline and trend to the Northwards, and so joyne with Nova Zembla, making the sea from Vaigats to the Eastwards but a bay : yet we will that you do keepe alongst by the said coast, and so bring us certaine report of that forme and maner of the same bay.

And if it doe so prove to be a bay, and that you have passed round about the same, and so by the trending of the land come backe unto that part of Nova Zembla that is against Vaigats, whereas you may from that see the said Island Vaigats, if the time of the yeere will permit you, you shall from thence passe alongst by the said border and coast of Nova Zembla to the Westwards, and so to search whether that part of Nova Zembla doe joyne with the land that sir Hugh Willoughbie discovered in anno 53, and is in 72 degrees, and from that part of Nova Zembla 120 leagues to the Westwards, as your plat doeth shew it unto you : and if you doe finde that land to joyne with Nova Zembla, when you come to it, you shall proceed further along the same coast, if the time of the yere will permit it, and that you doe thinke there will be sufficient time for you to returne backe with your barke to Winter either at Pechora or in Russia, at your discretion : for we refer the same to your good judgements, trusting

that you will lose no time, that may further your knowledge in this voyage.

Note you, it was the 20 of August, 56 yer the Serch-thrift began to returne backe from her discoverie, to Winter in Russia, and then she came from the Island Vaigats, being forcibly driven from thence with an Easterly winde and yce, and so she came into the river Dwina, and arrived at Colmogro the 11 of September, 56. If the yce had not bene so much that yere as it was in the Streights, on both sides of the Island Vaigats, they in the said pinnesse would that yeere have discovered the parts that you are now sent to seeke: which thing (if it had pleased God) might have bene done then: but God hath reserved it for some other. Which discoverie, if it may be made by you, it shall not only prove profitable unto you, but it will also purchase perpetuall fame and renowme both to you and our countrey. And thus not doubting of your willing desires, and forwardnesse towards the same, we pray God to blesse you with a lucky beginning, fortunate successe, and happily to end the same. Amen.

Necessarie notes to be observed, and followed in your discoverie, as hereafter followeth.

WHEN your barke with all furniture and necessities shall be in readinesse for you to depart to the sea (if it be that you take your barke at S. Nicholas, or any part of Dwina Reca) you shall from thence, even as timely in the spring as the yce will permit you, saile, & make all expedition that may be, unto the mouth of the river Pechora (as your commission doth leade you) and as you passe by the coast all alongst (notwithstanding the plat that sheweth you the description of the said coast, from Dwina unto Vaigats) yet you shall seeke by all the meanes that you can, to amend the same plat, using as many observations, as you possibly can do: and these notes following are to be observed by you principally.

1 First, that you do observe the latitude as often, and in as many places as you may possibly do it, noting diligently the place where you do so observe the same.

2 Also that you doe diligently set with your compasse, how the land doth lie from point to point, all alongst as you goe, and to use your judgements how farre there may be betweene ech of them.

3 Item, that you do alwayes use to draw the proportion

and biting of the land, aswell the lying out of the points, and headlands, unto the which you shall give some apt names (at your discretion) as also the forme of the Bayes, and to make some marke in drawing the forme, and border of the same, where the high cliffes are, and where low land is, whether sandy hilles, or whatsoever : omit not to note any thing that may be sensible and apparant to you, which may serve to any purpose.

4 In passing along by any coast, that you keepe your lead going often times, and sound at the least once every glasse, and oftener if you thinke good as occasion doth serve, and note diligently the depth with the maner of the ground, and at every time, how farre the same sounding may be from the next shore to it : and how the next point or headland doth beare from you. And in the sea after you set off from your port, you shall orderly at the end of every foure glasses sound, and if you finde ground, note the depth and what ground, but if you can finde no ground, you shall also note in what depth you could find no ground.

5 Also that you do diligently observe the flowing, & ebbing in every place, and how the tides do set, which way the flood doth come, and how much water it doth high in every place, and what force the same tide hath to drive a ship in an houre, as neere as you can judge it.

6 Also that you doe seeke to observe with the instrument which I deliver you herewith, according as I taught you at Rose Island, the true platformes, and distances, in as many places as conveniently you may, for it serveth very aptly your purpose.

7 Also that you take with you paper and ynke, and keepe a continuall journall or remembrance day by day, of all such things as shall fall out worth the knowledge, not forgetting or omitting to write it, and note it, that it may be shewed and read at your returne.

8 These orders if you shall diligently observe, it will be easie for you to make a plat and perfect description of your discovery, and so shall your notes be sufficient to answere that which is looked for at your hands. But withall you may not forget to note as many things as you can learne and understand by the report of any people whatsoever they be, so that it appertaine any way to our desires. And thus the Lord God prosper your voyage. Amen.

Certaine letters in verse, written by Master George Turbervile out of Moscovia, which went as Secretarie thither with Master Tho. Randolph, her Majesties Ambassadour to the Emperour 1568, to certeine friends of his in London, describing the maners of the Countrey and people.

To his especiall friend Master Edward Dancie.

My Dancie deare, when I recount within my brest,
My London friends, and wonted mates, and thee above
the rest :

I feele a thousand fits of deepe and deadly woe,
To thinke that I from land to sea, from blisse to bale
did go.

I left my native soile, full like a retchlesse man,
And unacquainted of the coast, among the Russes ran :
A people passing rude, to vices vile inclinde,
Folke fit to be of Bacchus traine, so quaffing is their
kinde.

Drinke is their whole desire, the pot is all their pride,
The sobrest head doth once a day stand needfull of a guide.
If he to banket bid his friends, he will not shrinke
On them at dinner to bestow a douzen kindes of drinke :
Such licour as they have, and as the countrey gives,
But chiefly two, one called Kvas, whereby the Mousike
lives.

Small ware and waterlike, but somewhat tart in taste,
The rest is Mead of honie made, wherewith their lips they
baste.

And if he goe unto his neighbour as a guest,
He cares for litle meate, if so his drinke be of the best.
No wonder though they use such vile and beastly trade,
Sith with the hatchet and the hand, their chiefest gods be
made.

Their Idoles have their hearts, on God they never call,
Unlesse it be (Nichola Bough) that hangs against the wall.
The house that hath no god, or painted Saint within,
Is not to be resorted to, that roose is full of sinne.
Besides their private gods, in open places stand
Their crosses unto which they crooche, and blesse them-
selves with hand.

Devoutly downe they ducke, with forehead to the ground,
Was never more deceit in ragges, and greasie garments
found.

Almost the meanest man in all the countrey rides,
The woman eke, against our use, her trotting horse
bestrides.

In sundry colours they both men and women goe,
In buskins all, that money have on buskins to bestoe.
Ech woman hanging hath a ring within her eare,
Which all of ancient use, and some of very pride doe
weare.

Their gate is very brave, their countenance wise and
sadde,
And yet they follow fleshly lustes, their trade of living
badde.

It is no shame at all accompted to defile
Anothers bedde, they make no care their follies to concile,
Is not the meanest man in all the land but hee,
To buy her painted colours doeth allow his wife a fee,
Wherewith she deckes her selfe, and dies her tawnie
skinne,

She pranks and paints her smoakie face, both brow, lip,
cheeke, & chinne.

Yea those that honest are, if any such there bee
Within the land, doe use the like : a man may plainly see
Upon some womens cheekes the painting how it lies,
In plaister sort, for that too thicke her face the harlot dies.
But such as skilfull are, and cunning Dames indeede,
By dayly practise doe it well, yea sure they doe exceede.
They lay their colours so, as he that is full wise,
May easily be deceiv'd therein, if he doe trust his eyes.
I not a little muse, what madnesse makes them paint
Their faces, waying how they keepe the stoove by meere
constraint.

For seldome when, unlesse on Church or marriage day
A man shall see the Dames abroad, that are of best aray.
The Russie meanes to reape the profit of her pride,
And so he mewes her to be sure, she lye by no mans side.
Thus much, friend Dancie, I did meane to write to thee,
To let thee weete in Russia land, what men and women
bee.

Hereafter I perhaps of other things will write
To thee, and other of my friends, which I shall see with
sight :

And other stuffe besides, which true report shall tell,
Meane while I ende my loving lines, and bid thee now
farewell.

To Spencer.

IF I should now forget, or not remember thee,
Thou Spencer might'st a foule rebuke, and shame impute
to mee.

For I to open shew did love thee passing well,
And thou wert he at parture, whome I loathde to bid
farewell.

And as I went they friend, so I continue still,
No better prooffe thou canst then this desire of true good will.
I doe remember well when needes I should away,
And that the Poste would licence us, no longer time to
stay :

Thou wrongst me by the fist, and holding fast my hand,
Didst crave of me to send thee newes, and how I liked
the land.

It is a sandie soile, no very fruitfull vaine,
More waste and wooddie grounds there are, then closes
fit for graine.

Yet graine there growing is, which they untimely take,
And cut or eare the corne be ripe, they mowe it on a
stacke.

And laying sheafe by sheafe, their harvest so they dry,
They make the greater haste, for feare the frost the corne
destroy.

For in the winter time, so glarie is the ground,
As neither grasse, nor other graine, in pastures may be
found.

In coms the cattell then, the sheepe, the colt, the cowe,
Fast by his bed the Mowsike then a lodging doth allowe,
Whom he with fodder feeds, and holds as deere as life :
And thus they weare the winter with the Mowsike and his
wife.

Seven months the Winter dures, the glare it is so great,
As it is May before he turne, his ground to sowe his
wheate.

The bodies eke that die unburied lie they then,
Laid up in colins made of firre, as well the poorest men,
As those of greater state : the cause is lightly found,
For that in Winter time, they cannot come to breake the
ground.

And wood so plenteous is, quite throughout all the land,
As rich, and poore, at time of death assur'd of coffins
stand.

Perhaps thou musest much, how this may stand with
reason,

That bodies dead can uncorrupt abide so long a season.
Take this for certaine trothe, as soone as heate is gone,
The force of colde the body binds as hard as any stone,
Without offence at all to any living thing :
And so they lye in perfect state, till next returne of
Spring.

Their beasts be like to ours, as farre as I can see
*For shape, and shewe, but somewhat lesse of bulke, and
bone they be.*

Of watrish taste, the flesh not firme, like English beefe,
And yet it serv's them very well, and is a good releefe :
Their sheepe are very small, sharpe singled, handfull long,
Great store of fowle on sea and land, the moorish reedes
among.

The greatnes of the store doeth make the prices lesse,
Besides in all the land they know not how good meate to
dresse.

They use neither broach nor spit, but when the stove they
heate,

They put their victuals in a pan, and so they bake their
meate.

No pewter to be had, no dishes but of wood,
No use of trenchers, cups cut out of birche are very good
They use but wooden spoones, which hanging in a case
Eache Mowsike at his girdle ties, and thinkes it no
disgrace.

With whittles two or three, the better man the moe,
The chieftest Russies in the land, with spoone and knives
doe goe.

Their houses are not huge of building, but they say,
They plant them in the loftiest ground, to shift the snow
away,

Which in the Winter time, eache where full thicke doth
lie :

Which makes them have the more desire, to set their
houses hie.

No stone worke is in use, their roofes of rafters bee,
One linked in another fast, their wals are all of tree.
Of masts both long, and large, with mosse put in
betweene,

To keepe the force of weather out, I never earst have
scene

A grosse devise so good, and on the rooffe they lay
The burthen barke, to rid the raine, and sudden showres
away.

In every roome a stove, to serve the Winter turne,
Of wood they have sufficient store, as much as they can
burne.

They have no English glasse, of slices of a rocke
Hight Sluda they their windowes make, that English
glasse doth mocke.

They cut it very thinne, and sow it with a thred
In pretie order like to panes, to serve their present need.
No other glasse, good faith doth give a better light :
And sure the rocke is nothing rich, the cost is very
slight.

The chiefest place is that, where hangs the god by it,
The owner of the house himselfe doth never sit,
Unlesse his better come, to whom he yealds the seat :
The stranger bending to the god, the ground with brow
must beat.

And in that very place which they most sacred deeme,
The stranger lies : a token that his guest he doth esteeme.
Where he is wont to have a beares skinne for his bed,
And must, in stead of pillow, clap his saddle to his
head.

In Russia other shift there is not to be had,
For where the bedding is not good, the boalsters are but
bad.

I mused very much, what made them so to lie,
Sith in their countrey Downe is rife, and feathers out of
crie :

Unlesse it be because the countrey is so hard,
They feare by nicenesse of a bed their bodies would be
mard,

I wisht thee oft with us, save that I stood in feare
Thou wouldst have loathed to have layd thy limmes upon
a beare,

As I and Stafford did, that was my mate in bed :
And yet (we thanke the God of heaven) we both right well
have sped.

Loe thus I make an ende : none other newes to thee,
But that the countrey is too colde, the people beastly bee.
I write not all I know, I touch but here and there,
For if I should, my penne would pinch, and eke offend I
feare.

Who so shall read this verse, conjecture of the rest,
And thinke by reason of our trade, that I do thinke the
best.

But if no traffique were, then could I boldly pen
The hardnesse of the soile, and eke the maners of the men.
They say the Lions paw gives judgement of the beast :
And so may you deeme of the great, by reading of the
least.

To Parker.

My Parker, paper, pen, and inke were made to write,
And idle heads, that little do, have leisure to indite :
Wherefore, respecting these, and thine assured love,
If I would write no newes to thee, thou might'st my pen
reprove.

And sithence fortune thus hath shov'd my shippe on
shore :

And made me seeke another Realme unseene of me
before :

The maners of the men I purpose to declare,
And other private points besides, which strange and
geazon are.

The Russie men are round of bodies, fully fac'd,
The greatest part with bellies bigge that overhang the
waste,

Flat headed for the most, with faces nothing faire,
But browne, by reason of the stove, and closenesse of
the aire :

It is their common use to shave or els to sheare
Their heads, for none in all the land long lolling locks
doth weare,

Unlesse perhaps he have his soveraigne prince displeas'd,
For then he never cuts his haire, untill he be appeas'd.

A certaine signe to know who in displeasure be,
For every man that viewes his head, will say, Loe this
is he.

And during all the time he lets his locks to grow,
Dares no man for his life to him a face of friendship show.

Their garments be not gay, nor handsome to the eye,
A cap aloft their heads they have, that standeth very hie,
Which Colpack they do terme. They weare no ruffes at
all :

The best have collers set with pearle, which they Rubasca
call.

Their shirts in Russie long, they worke them downe
before,

And on the sleeves with coloured Silks, two inches good
and more.

Aloft their shirts they weare a garment jacket wise
Hight Onoriadka, and about his burlic waste he tyes
His portkies, which in stead of better breeches be :

Of linnen cloth that garment is, no codpiece is to see.

A paire of yarmen stocks to keepe the colde away,
Within his boots the Russie weares, the heeles they
underlay

With clouting clamps of steele, sharpe pointed at the toes,
And over all a Shuba furd, and thus the Russie goes.

Well butned is the Shube, according to his state,
Some Silke, of Silver other some : but those of poorest
rate

Do weare no Shubs at all, but grosser gownes to sight,
That reacheth downe beneath the calfe, and that Armacha
hight :

These are the Russes robes. The richest use to ride
From place to place, his servant runnes, and followes by
his side.

The Cassacke beares his felt, to force away the raine :
Their bridles are not very brave, their saddles are but
plaine.

No bits but snaffles all, of birch their saddles be,
Much fashioned like the Scottish seates, broad flakes to
keepe the knee

From sweating of the horse, the pannels larger farre
And broader be then ours, they use short stirrups for the
warre :

For when the Russie is pursued by cruel foe,
He rides away, and suddenly betakes him to his boe,
And bends me but about in saddle as he sits,
And therewithall amids his race his following foe he hits.
Their bowes are very short, like Turkie bowes outright,
Of sinowes made with birchen barke, in cunning maner
dight.

Small arrowes, cruel heads, that fell and forked bee,
Which being shot from out those bowes, a cruel way will
flee.

They seldome use to shoo their horse, unlesse they ride
In post upon the frozen flouds, then cause they shall not
slide,

He sets a slender calke, and so he rides his way.
 The horses of the countrey go good fourescore versts a
 day,
 And all without the spurre, once pricke them and they
 skippe,
 But goe not forward on their way, the Russie hath his
 whippe
 To rappe him on the ribbes, for though all booted bee,
 Yet shall you not a paire of spurres in all the countrey
 see.

The common game is chesse, almost the simplest will
 Both give a checke and eke a mate, by practise comes
 their skill.

Againe they dice as fast, the poorest rogues of all
 Will sit them downe in open field, and there to gaming
 fall.

Their dice are very small, in fashion like to those
 Which we doe use, he takes them up, and over thumbe
 he throwes

Not shaking them a whit, they cast suspiciously,
 And yet I deeme them voyd of art that dicing most apply.
 At play when Silver lacks, goes saddle, horse and all,
 And eche thing els worth Silver walkes, although the price
 be small.

Because thou lovest to play friend Parker other while,
 I wish thee there the weary day with dicing to beguile.
 But thou weart better farre at home, I wist it well,
 And wouldest be loath among such lowts so long a time
 to dwell.

Then judge of us thy friends, what kinde of life we had,
 That neere the frozen pole to waste our weary dayes were
 glad.

In such a savage soile, where lawes do beare no sway,
 But all is at the king his will, to save or els to slay.
 And that sans cause, God wot, if so his minde be such.
 But what meane I with Kings to deale? we ought no
 Saints to touch.

Conceive the rest your selfe, and deeme what lives they
 lead,

Where lust is Lawe, and Subjects live continually in
 dread.

And where the best estates have none assurance good
 Of lands, of lives, nor nothing falles unto the next of
 blood.

But all of custome doeth unto the prince redowne,
And all the whole revenue comes unto the King his
crowne.

Good faith I see thee muse at what I tell thee now,
But true it is, no choice, but all at princes pleasure
bow.

So Tarquine ruled Rome as thou remembrest well,
And what his fortune was at last, I know thy selfe canst
tell.

Where will in Common weale doth beare the onely sway,
And lust is Lawe, the prince and Realme must needs in
time decay.

The strangenesse of the place is such for sundry things I
see,

As if I would I cannot write ech private point to thee.
The colde is rare, the people rude, the prince so full of
pride,

The Realme so stored with Monks and nunnes, and priests
on every side :

The maners are so Turkie like, the men so full of guile,
The women wanton, Temples stult with idols that defile
The Seats that sacred ought to be, the customes are so
quaint,

As if I would describe the whole, I feare my pen would
faint.

In summe, I say I never saw a prince that so did raigne,
Nor people so beset with Saints, yet all but vile and
vaine.

Wilde Irish are as civill as the Russies in their kinde,
Hard choice which is the best of both, ech bloody, rude
and blinde.

If thou bee wise, as wise thou art, and wilt be ruld by me,
Live still at home, and covet not those barbarous coasts
to see.

No good befallles a man that seeks, and findes no better
place,

No civill customes to be learnd, where God bestowes no
grace.

And truely ill they do deserve to be belov'd of God,
That neither love nor stand in awe of his assured rod :
Which though be long, yet plagues at last the vile and
beastly sort

Of sinfull wights, that all in vice do place their chiefest
sport.

A dieu friend Parker, if thou list, to know the Russes well,
To Sigismundus booke repaire, who all the trueth can tell :

For he long earst in message went unto that savage King,
Sent by the Pole, and true report in ech respect did bring,
To him I recommend my selfe, to ease my penne of paine,
And now at last do wish thee well, and bid farewell againe.

The fourth voyage into Persia, made by M. Arthur Edwards Agent, John Sparke, Laurence Chapman, Christopher Faucet, and Richard Pingle, in the yeere 1568. declared in this letter written from Casbin in Persia by the foresaide Laurence Chapman to a worshipfull merchant of the companie of Russia in London. Anno Domini 1569. Aprill 28.

WORSHIPFULL sir, my ductie alwayes remembred, and your prosperous health, and good successe in all your affaires wished, to the glory of God, and your owne hearts desire, &c. May it please you to understand that your Agent M. Arthur Edwards and we departed from Yeraslave in July 1568. and the 14. of August arrived at our port called Bilbil, with your ship the Grace of God, and the goods in her in good safetie, God bee thanked for it, finding there neither the people so ready to ayd us for the bringing of her in, & unlading of the goods, nor yet so obedient to the Shaughs privilege, as the worshipfull company have bene informed. Our goods brought upon land, we were compelled to open & sel as they would set the price, or otherwise it would have bene worse for us. Being so satisfied to their contentment, we were speedily aided with camels by the prince Erasbec Sultan his appointment, to carry our goods to Shamaki, to which place we attained the first of September, finding it so thoroughly furnished with all maner of commodities by occasion of our late comming, and by such as came before us, that no man would aske to buy any one piece of karsie of us, and lying then the space of one whole moneth before your Agent Arthur Edwards would disperse us abroad with the goods, such as came out of Russia afterwarde, had brought their goods to that and other places, and spoyled those sales wee might have made, being sent abroad in time convenient, being no little hinderance to

the worshipfull, as also great grieffe unto us to see. To conclude, through our dayly calling upon him, he bent himselfe for Casbin, taking with him the greatest summe of the goods, and two of the worshipfuls servants, to witte, John Sparke and my selfe, to helpe and procure the better sale for the same: and leaving at Shamaki Christopher Faucet and Richard Pingle with three hundred and fiftie pieces of karsies in their handes, supposed to be solde there or in Arrash before hee should be able to make his returne from Casbin, which, so farre foorth as I can understand, lie for the greatest part unsolde. And being upon our way, at a certaine towne called Ardouil, we chanced to barter nine pieces of karsies with those merchants for fourescore and foure batemans of cynamom, selling the karsies at one hundred and fiftie shawghs the piece.

And being at that present not farre from Teveris, called the principal place in this countrey for uttering of cloth or karsies, by much intreatie I perswaded your Agent to send thither to proove what might be done, and receiving from him foure and fiftie pieces of karsies, as also his commission for the sale of the same, I proceeded on that voyage my selfe, and one Tolmach in company with me, finding in that place great store of broad cloth and karsies brought thither, some part by the Turkes who be resident there, some by the Armenians, who fetch them at Aleppo, and some by the townesmen, who travell unto Venice and there buy them, so that no man offered me one penie more then a hundred and fourtie shawghs for a karsie: and having speciall commission and charge from your Agent not to stay there above the space of seven dayes after my arrivall there, but to repaire to Casbin with all speed, and furthermore, having regard to keepe up the price of the worshipfuls commodities, according to their desire, I found meanes to barter them away for spices, such as were there to be had, neither in goodnesse nor yet in price to my content: neverthelesse, considering the colde sales which were there, as well for your karsies, as also the hot newes, that Ormuz way was shut up by occasion that the Indians do warre against them, which is true in deed: and againe the desire that the worshipfull hath to have such commodities bought, I thought it necessary to buy them, the prices and weight whereof appeareth at large by my accompt sent to the worshipfull, and is,

as I thinke, the whole summe of spices bought at this time.

It chanced me in that place to meet with the governours merchant of Grozin, who was not a litle desirous to bargaen with me for a hundred pieces of karsies for his master called Levontie, and offering me so good bands for the paiment of the money or silke to the merchants contentment upon the delivery of them, as in any place within all this countrey is to be had : and offering me besides his owne letter in the behalfe of his master, that no custome should be demanded for the same, and the obtaining also at his masters hand as large a priviledge for the worshipful to travel into all parts of his dominion, as the Shaugh had given them, and hearing good report made of him by the Armenians also, and that he was a Christian, I was much more the willing to bargaen with him, and sold him a hundred pieces for a hundred and threescore shawghs a piece, to be paid to the merchant in Grozin either in money or silke to his contentment, within three dayes after the deliverie of the karsies there, having a band of him made by the Metropolitanes owne hand, for the performance of the same, which is as sure as any here is to be devised : and upon the same I sent my Tolmach from me backe to Shamaki, with such goods as I bought at Teveris, and to the end hee might cause the worshipfuls servants there to see this bargaen accomplished. At whose arrivall there, as I do perceive, the Captaine would not accomplish his bargaen to take them, but saith, hee hath no need of them : such is the constancie of all men in this countrey, with whomsoever you shal bargaen. If the ware be bought, and they doe mislike it afterwards, they will bring it againe, and compel you to deliver the money for it againe, regarding the Shawghs letters, which manifesteth the contrary, as a straw in the winde : by meanes whereof, the worshipfull may know whether all be true that hath bene written of this countrey people or not.

I am informed by all the brokers in Teveris, that the way once open to Ormuz, from whence commeth no such store of spices as the worshipfull doeth looke for, that here will bee put a way in Teveris, some for money, and other some for barter, to the number of three hundred or foure hundred pieces of karsies, being in coulers and goodnesse to the examples here sent you, the rest of the karsies to make them up a thousand, and broad clothes

to the summe of a hundred, bee as many as will be put away yeerely in this countrey, so farre as yet I can perceiue.

To breake the trade betwixt the Venetians and the whole company of the Armenians it is not possible, unlesse the worshipful will finde some meanes to receive of them yerely to the number of 100. catters or mules lading, and deliver them for the same one third part money, the rest cloth and karsies fitted in coulers meete for this countrey : the examples, as abovesaid, are sent unto you.

At Amadia sixe dayes journey from Teveris, grow abundance of galles, which are brought up yerely by the Venetians, and be solde there for two bistes the Teveris bateman, which as your Agent here saith, maketh sixe pound English weight, but I doubt it will not so be proved. Neverthelesse it is supposed much good will bee done by buying of them : which might at this present have partly bene proved, if so be that some could do but halfe that which hath bene written.

Touching drugges, I finde many as well at Teveris, as also in Casbin, but the goodnesse nothing like to such as be brought into England out of other places : & the price is so high that smal gaine will be had in buying of them : albeit, if I had bene furnished with money, as I might have bene, if some would, I would have bought some, to the ende the goodnesse of them might have bene seene in England. At my comming to Casbin I found no maner of sales of any commoditie made, but all lying there whole, and newes given out (as your Agent saith) that ye Shaugh would buy all such commodities as he had, and give him silke and spices for the same : but by report the Shaugh never tooke cloth into his treasurie all the dayes of his life, and will not now begin : his whole trade is in raw silke, which he selleth alwayes for money to the Armenians and Turkes, and such other as use to buy it : thus hoping of that which is not like to be had, hee hath driven off the time, not sending to any other places : by means whereof the worshipfuls goods lie unsold to this day to their great hinderance, which I for my part am not a little sorry to see.

Babylon is from hence fifteene dayes journey, whereas by true report be great store of Dates, and sold for a bisse the batman, the commoditie fit for England, and the place so neere unto us might easily have bene knowen, if

hee, whose deeds and sayings differ much, had bene willing to the same. Cassan also is but seven dayes journey from hence, & a place by report where most store of spices be at all times to be had, over and above any place in this countrey: it could not be granted by him to be seen and proved at this time: if this be losse to the worshipfull, referre it to the want of one which can do that which he speaketh in words.

To travell in this countrey is not onely miserable and uncomfortable for lacke of townes and villages to harbour in when night commeth, and to refresh men with wholesome victuals in time of need, but also such scarcitie of water, that sometime in three dayes journey together, is not to be found any drop fit for man or beast to drinke, besides the great danger we stand in for robbing by these infidels, who doe account it remission of sinnes to wash their hands in the blood of one of us. Better it is therefore in mine opinion to continue a beggar in England during life, then to remaine a rich Merchant seven yeeres in this Countrey, as some shall well find at their comming hither.

By commandement of the Agent also I went to Gilan, as well to see what harbor was there for your ship, as also to understand what commoditie is there best sold, and for what quantitie. I found the way from hence so dangerous and troublesome, that with my pen I am not able to note it unto you: no man travelleth from hence thither, but such poore people as need constraineth to buy Rice for their reliefe to live upon, and they lay not above twentie batmans upon a catter, and it lieth no lower then the skirts of the saddle, and he escapeth very hardly that commeth there with the same.

The towne of Laighon, which was the chieftest place in all that land, have I seen, and Langro and Rosar also, which be now overrun by the Shaugh and his power, and be so spoiled, & the people so robbed, that not one of them is able to buy one karsie. The best commoditie there to bee bought, is raw silke, and is sold in the Summer time for 38. shaughs the Laighon batman, which is litle above 40. li. waight, and for ready money: also there is to bee had what store of Alom you will, and sold there for one bisse the Teveris batman.

In these partes be many Turkie merchants resident, which give an outward shew, as though they were glad

of our comming hither, but secretly they be our mortall enemies, searching by all meanes to hinder our sales, because we should the sooner give over our trade thither, which in processe of time I hope will growe to better perfection. They wish us to go to Hallape with the rest of our commodities unsold, where they say we shall have good intertainment in spite of the great number of Venetians which be there resident, and the custome but two in the hundred, and our karsies to be sold presently, had we never so many, for twelve duckets, which maketh of this money 165. shaughs: but by such as know the place, market and custome, it is reported to us credibly to the contrary, and that such karsies as ours be, are not sold for above 8. duckets there: the custome thirtie in the hundred and more, that no place in the world is so well furnished with good cloth and karsies, and of so brave colour as that place is, supposing it to bee craftily purposed of them, to bring us into trouble, which God defend us from.

The price of spices be these, at this present enhansed by reason ye way is shut to Ormus, which when God shal send open, I purpose (God willing) to see, and at my returne to advertise the worshipful what benefit is there to be had in all points, so neere as I can learne: Pepper 25. shaughs the Teveris batman: Cloves 50. shaughs, Long pepper 25. shaughs, Maces large 50. shaughs, Ginger 24. shaughs, ready money all, or els looke not upon them. And the best sort of rawe silke is sold for 60. shaughs the Teveris batman. Thus for want of further matter to enlarge, I ende for this time, beseeching God to preserve you in continuall health.

By your obedient servant, Lawrence Chapman.

Notes concerning this fourth voyage into Persia, begun in the moneth of July 1568. gathered by M. Richard Willes from the mouth of Master Arthur Edwards, which was Agent in the same.

WHEN he came first to the Sophies presence, at his court in Casbin, bringing his interpreter with him, and standing farre off, the Sophie (sitting in a seat roiall with a great number of his noble men about him) bad him come neere, and that thrise, until he came so neere him that he might have touched him with his hand. Then the first demand that he asked him was, from what countrey he came: he

answered, that he came from England. Then asked hee of his noble men, who knew any such countrey? But when Edwards saw that none of them had any intelligence of that name, he named it Inghilterra, as the Italians call England. Then one of the noble men said Londro, meaning thereby London, which name is better knowne in far countries out of Christendom, then is the name of England. When Edwards heard him name Londro, he said that that was the name of the chiefe citie of England, as was Teveris of the chiefe city of Persia. He asked him many things more, as of the realme of England, marvelling that it should be an Island of so great riches and power, as Edwards declared unto him: of the riches & abundance of our merchandize he further understood by our traffike in Moscovia and other countreis. He demanded also many things of the Queenes majestie, and of the customes and lawes of the realme: saying oftentimes in his owne language, Bara colla, (that is to say) Well sayd. He asked also many things of king Philip, & of his wars against the Turke at Malta. Then he demanded of him what was the chiefe cause of his resort into his realme. And being certified that it was for the trade of merchandize, he asked what kind of merchandize he could bring thither. Such (sayd hee) as the Venetian merchants do, which dwelling in our country in the city of Londro send to Venice, & from thence into Turkie by Halepo & Tripoli in Syria, from whence, as by the second and third hands, with great charges of many customs and other things thereunto pertaining, they are at the length brought into your countrey and cities of Persia. What merchandize are those? sayd the Sophie. Edwards answered, that they were great abundance of fine karsies, of broad clothes of all sorts & colours, as skarlets, violets, and other of the finest cloth of all the world. Also that the Venetians brought out of England not onely such clothes ready made, but furthermore great plenty of fine wooll to mingle with their wools, of which they could not otherwise make fine cloth: affirming that there went out of England yeerly that waies, above two hundred thousand karsies, and as many broad clothes, beside fine wooll & other merchandize, beside also the great abundance of like clothes, the which were caried into Spaine, Barbarie, & divers other countries. The Sophie then asked him by what means such merchandize might be brought into

Persia. Right wel sir (said he) by the way of Moscovia, with more safety and in much shorter time then the Venetians can bring them : first from England to Venice, and from thence into Persia by the way of Turkie. And therefore if it shal please your majestie to grant us free passage into all your dominions, with such privileges as may appertaine to the safegard of our lives, goods and merchandize, we will furnish your countries with all such merchandize and other commodities, in shorter time, and better cheape then you may have the same at the Turks hands. This talke and much more was between the Sophie and Edwards for the space of two houres : all which things liked him so well, that shortly after he granted to the sayd Arthur Edwards other privileges for the trade of merchandize into Persia, all written in Azure and gold letters, and delivered unto the lord keeper of the Sophie his great seale. The lord keeper was named Coche Califay, who sayd that when the Shaugh (that is the king or prince) did sit to seale any letters, that last priviledge should be sealed & delivered to Laurence Chapman. In this priviledge is one principall article for servants or merchants : That if the Agent do perceive that upon their naughtie doings, they would become Busormen, that then the Agent wheresoever he shall find any such servant or servants, to take them and put them in prison, and no person to keepe them or maintaine them. This article was granted in respect of a custome among the Persians, being Mahumetans, whose maner is friendly to receive and wel entertaine, both with gifts and living, all such Christians, as forsaking their religion, wil become of the religion of the Persians. Insomuch that before this priviledge was granted, there was great occasion of naughty servants to deceive and rob their masters, that under the colour of professing that religion, they might live among them in such safetie, that you might have no lawe agaynst them, either to punish them or to recover your goods at their hands, or elsewhere. For before the Sophie (whom they say to be a marvelous wise and gracious prince) seemed to favour our nation, and to grant them such priviledges, the people abused them very much, and so hated them, that they would not touch them, but reviled them, calling them Cafars and Gawars, which is, infidels or misbeleevers. But after they saw how greatly the prince favoured them, they had them afterward in great

reverence, and would kisse their hands and use them very friendly. For before they tooke it for no wrong to rob them, defraud them, beare false witsnesse against them, and such merchandizes as they had bought or sold, make them take it againe, and change it as often as them listed. And if any stranger by chance had killed one of them, they would have the life of two for one slaine, and for the debts of any stranger would take the goods of any other of the same nation, with many other such like abuses, in maner unknownen to the prince, before the complaints of our men made unto him for reformation of such abuses: which were the cause that no merchant strangers of contrary religion durst come into his dominions with their commodities, which might be greatly to the profite of him and his subjects.

The Articles of the second priviledge delivered to Laurence Chapman, which are to be annexed unto the former priviledge.

10 Item, that the merchants have free libertie, as in their first priviledge, to goe unto Gilan, and all other places of his dominions, now or hereafter when occasion shall be given.

11 Item, if by misfortune any of their ships should breake, or fall upon any part of his dominions on the sea coast, his subjects to helpe with all speed to save the goods and to be delivered to any of the sayd merchants that liveth: or otherwise to be kept in safetic until any of them come to demandaund them.

12 Item, if any of the said merchants depart this life in any citie or towne, or on the high way, his governours there to see their goods safely kept, and to be delivered to any other of them that shall demand them.

13 Item, the said merchants to take such camel-men as they themselves wil, being countrey people, and that no Kissell Bash do let or hinder them. And the said owners of the camels to bee bound to answere them such goods as they shal receive at their hands, and the camel-men to stand to the losses of their camels or horses.

14 Item more, that the sayd Cariers do demandaund no more of them, then their agreement was to pay them.

15 Item more, if they be at a price with any Cariers, & have given earnest, the camel-men to see they keepe their promise.

16 Item, if any of the said merchants be in feare to travel, to give them one or more to go with them and see them in safetie with their goods, to the place they will goe unto.

17 Item, in all places, to say, in all cities, townes or villages on the high way, his subjects to give them honest rounge, and victuals for their money.

18 Item, the sayd merchants may in any place, where they shall thinke best, build or buy any house or houses to their owne uses. And no person to molest or trouble them, and to stand in any Caravan where they will, or shal thinke good.

THE commodities which the merchants may have by this trade into Persia are thought to bee great, and may in time perhaps be greater then the Portugals trade into ye East Indies, forasmuch as by the way of Persia into England, the returne may be made every yeere once: whereas the Portugals make the returne from Calecut but once in two yeeres, by a long and dangerous voiage all by sea: for where as the citie and Island of Ormus, lying in the gulfes of Persia, is the most famous Mart towne of all East India, whither al ye merchandises of India are brought, the same may in shorter time and more safely be brought by land and rivers through Persia, even unto the Caspian sea, and from thence by the countreis of Russia or Moscovia by rivers, even unto the citie of Yeraslave, and from thence by land 180. miles to Vologda, and from thence againe all by water even unto England.

The merchandises which be had out of Persia for the returne of wares are silke of all sortes of colours, both raw and wrought. Also all maner of spices and drugs, pearles & precious stones, likewise carpets of divers sortes, with divers other rich merchandises. It was told me of them that came last from Persia, that there is more silke brought into some one city of Persia, then is of cloth brought into the city of London. Also that one village of Armenia named Gilgat doeth carie yeerely five hundred, and sometime a thousand mules laden with silke to Halepon Soria of Turkie, being 4. dayes journey from Tripoli, where the Venetians have their continuall abiding, and send from thence silks which they returne for English carsies and other clothes into all partes of Christendome.

The maner how the Christians become Busormen, and forsake their religion.

I HAVE noted here before that if any Christian wil become a Busorman, that is, one that hath forsaken his faith, and be a Mahumetan of their religion, they give him many gifts, and sometime also a living. The maner is, that when the devill is entred into his heart to forsake his faith, he resorteth to the Soltan or governor of the towne, to whom hee maketh protestation of his divelish purpose. The governour appointeth him a horse, and one to ride before him on another horse, bearing a sword in his hand, and the Busorman bearing an arrow in his hand, and rideth in the citie, cursing his father and mother: and if ever after he returne to his owne religion, he is guiltie of death, as is signified by the sword borne before him. A yong man, a servant of one of our merchants, because he would not abide the correction of his master for his faults, was minded to forsake his faith. But (as God would) he fell suddenly sicke and died, before he gave himselfe to the devill. If he had become a Busorman, he had greatly troubled the merchants: for if he would then have said that halfe their goods had bene his, they would have given credite unto him. For the avoiding of which inconvenience, it was granted in the privileges, that no Busorman, &c. as there appeareth.

In Persia in divers places oxen and kine beare the tents and houshold stuffe of the poore men of the countrey, which have neither camels nor horses.

Of the tree which beareth Bombasin cotton, or
Gossampine.

In Persia is great abundance of Bombasin cotton, & very fine: this groweth on a certaine litle tree or brier, not past the height of a mans waste or litle more: the tree hath a slender stalke like unto a brier, or to a carnation gilliflowre, with very many branches, bearing on every branch a fruit or rather a cod, growing in round forme, containing in it the cotton: and when this bud or cod commeth to the bignes of a walnut, it openeth and sheweth forth the cotton, which groweth still in bignes untill it be like a fleece of wooll as big as a mans fist, and beginneth to be loose, and then they gather it as it were the ripe fruite. The seeds of these trees are as big as

peason, and are blacke, and somewhat flat, and not round; they sowe them in plowed ground, where they grow in the fields in great abundance in many countries in Persia, and divers other regions.

The writing of the Persians.

ARTHUR EDWARDS shewed me a letter of the Sophie, written in their letters backward, subsigned with the hands both of the Sophy & his Secretarie. The Sophies subscription was onely one word (his name I suppose was Shaugh) written in golden letters upon red paper. The whole letter was also written on the same piece of red paper, being long & narrow, about ye length of a foote, and not past three inches broad. The private signet of the Sophie was a round printed marke about the bignes of a roial, onely printed upon the same paper without any waxe or other seale, the letter seem so mishapen and disordered, that a man would thinke it were somewhat scribled in maner at adventures. Yet they say that almost every letter with his pricke or circumflexe signifieth a whole word. Insomuch that in a piece of paper as big as a mans hand their writing doeth containe as much as doeth ours almost in a sheet of paper.

The fift voiage into Persia made by M. Thomas Banister, and master Geoffrey Ducket, Agents for the Moscovie companie, begun from England in the yeere 1568. and continuing to the yeere 1574. following. Written by P. I. from the mouth of M. Lionel Plumtree.

UPON the 3. day of July 1568. they embarked themselves at Yeraslave, being accompanied with Lionel Plumtree, and some 12. English men more, in a Barke called the Thomas Bonaventure of the burden of 70. tunnes, taking also along with them of Russes to the number of 40. for their use and imploiments. It fell out in the way, before they came to Astracan by 40. miles, that the Nagaian Tartars, being a kind of thievish and cruel people, made an assault upon them with 18. boates of theirs, each of them being armed, some with swords, some with speares, and some others with bowes and arrowes, and the whole number of them they discovered to be about 300. men. They for their parts, although they could have wished a quiet voyage and journey without blowes and violence, yet not willing to be spoiled with such Barbarians as they

were, began to defend themselves against their assault, by meanes whereof a very terrible & fierce fight folowed and continued hot & sharpe for two houres, wherein our men so wel plaied their parts with their calivers, that they forced the Tartars to flee with the losse of 120. of them, as they were afterwards enformed by a Russe prisoner, which escaped from the Nagaiaens, and came to them to Astracan, at which towne they arrived the 20. of August.

In this towne of Astracan they were somewhat hindered of their journey, and staied the space of sixe weekes by reason of a great army of 70000. Turkes and Tartars which came thither upon the instigation of the great Turke, hoping either to have surprised it suddenly or by continuance of siege to win the same. But in the end by reason that the winter approched, as also, because they had received newes of a great expedition, which the Emperour of Russia was in providing for the defence of the said place, they were constrained to raise their siege, & to leave the town as they found it.

Upon their departure our men had opportunitie to proceed on their voyage, and using the occasion, they left Astracan, and came to Bilbil towards the end of October : from whence they went to Shavaran, where (as they lodged in their tentes) they were greatly molested with strange troopes of sholcaves or foxes, which were so busie with them that they tooke their meate and victuals out of their lodgings, and devoured to the bare bones in one night a mighty wilde Bore that was sent unto them for a present from the governour of the countrey.

Having staied here some three or foure daies in providing of cariages and other necessaries for their journey, they departed thence and came to Shamaky, which is foure dayes journey from the aforesayd Shavaran. In this towne of Shamaky their whole company spent out the Winter, and from thence in April folowing they tooke their journey towards Ardouil a place of great account and much esteemed, by reason of the sepulchres of the Emperours of Persia, which for the most part lie there buried, and so is growen to bee a place of their superstitious devotion. In this towne of Ardouil they sojourned the space of 5. or 6. moneths, finding some traffique and sales, but to no purpose, the towne being more inhabited and frequented with gentlemen and noblemen then merchants.

The difference of religion bred great broiles in this towne whiles they remained there: for the brother sought the destruction of the brother, and the neerest kinsmen rose up one against another, insomuch that one of their company Lionel Plumtree hath scene in one day sometimes 14. slaine in a garboile. And he being further desirous to see their maner of fight, or rather somewhat more curious to behold, then mistrustful of their blowes, was like to have borne a share in their bloodie tragedie, being twice wounded with their shot and arrowes, although not to the death.

At this towne the Shaw Thomas sent a messenger for our men to come to his presence at Casbin, to whom Thomas Banister failed not to goe, although master Ducket lay very sicke at Ardouil, and in such case that they almost despaired of his recoverie. Hee being come to the Shaugh was received and entertained of him with great favour and speciall countenance, and had the most part of all his requests granted him, this onely excepted, that whereas he entreated a priviledge or sufferance to transport and cary through his dominions certaine horses into India, the Shaugh seemed loth to yeeld thereunto, and yet did not altogether denie it, but referred it to some further time. As for the point of traffique, he could not make that motion or request that was not so soone granted as it was preferred: and the Shaugh himselfe bought there of him many karsies, and made him as good paiment as any man could wish, and oftentimes would send his mony for the wares before the wares were delivered, that he might be the surer of this honourable intended dealing.

One thing somewhat strange I thought good in this place to remember, that whereas hee purposed to send a great summe of money to Mecca in Arabia, for an offering to Mahomet their prophet, hee would not send any money or coyne of his owne, but sent to the English merchants to exchange his coyne for theirs, according to the value of it, yeelding this reason for the same, that the money of the merchants was gotten by good meanes, and with good consciences, and was therefore woorthie to be made for an oblation to their holy prophet, but his owne money was rather gotten by fraud, oppression and dishonest meanes, and therefore was not fit to serve for so holie a use.

After sixe moneths spent in Casbin the sayde Thomas Banister departed towards the great citie of Tauris, where being arrived, he found M. Ducket well recovered of his sicknesse, whom he had left ill at Ardouil.

At this Citie the foresayd Master Ducket made sales of the English commodities, remaining there to that purpose the space of two yeeres and a halfe. And besides other kindes of merchandises of that countrey, he bought great store of gals which grow in great abundance at a place within one dayes journey of the aforesayd Tauris.

After this Thomas Banister departed from Tauris, and went to Shamaky to give order for the transporting of those commodities which were bought for England. And having dispatched them away, he went there hence to Arrash, a towne foure dayes journey with camels from Shamaky for the buying of rawe silke. But there by reason of the unwholesomnesse of the aire, and corruption of the waters in the hote time of the yeere, he with Lawrence Chapman and some other English men unhappily died: which being knowen of M. Ducket, he immediatly came from Tauris to Arrash, to take possession of the goods, for otherwise by the custome of the countrey, if there had bene no merchant or other friend of his to enter upon that which he left, all had fallen into the Shaughs hands, which goods notwithstanding could not bee recovered from the officers which had seized and sealed up the same, untill M. Ducket had bene in person with the Shaugh, and had procured his order for the deliverie thereof.

Lionel Plumtree, in the meane time that M. Ducket was at Casbin in sute for goods, upon the perswasion of certaine Bogharians, made provision for a journey to Cathaia, with cariages and commodities, and having all things ready, departed secretly with a Caravan: but being gone forwards on his way sixe days journey, some fifty horsemen by the procurement of Humfry Greensell (who afterwards being at Ormus in the East Indies, was there cruelly burnt in the Inquisition by the Portingals) were sent after him in poste from Soltan Erasbec, the Shaughs lieutenant, to fetch him backe againe, not suffering him to passe on so perillous and dangerous a journey for feare of divers inconveniences that might follow.

After this M. Ducket returned from Casbin to Shamaky againe, and immediately made preparation for a journey

to Cassan, being about foure dayes journey from Shamaky, and caried with him foure mules laden with mony.

In the way of his travel he passed through Persepolis, sometime the roiall seate of the Emperors of Persia, but now altogether ruined and defaced, whereof remaine to be seene at this day two gates onely that are distant one from the other the space of 12. miles, and some few pinnacles in the mountains and conveiances for fresh water.

The foresaid Cassan is a towne that consisteth altogether of merchandise, and the best trade of all the land is there, being greatly frequented by the merchants of India.

Here our men bought great store of al maner of wrought silkes, and some spices, and good store of Turkie stones.

The towne is much to be commended for the civil and good government that is there used. An idle person is not suffred to live amongst them.

The child that is but five yeeres old is set to some labour. No ill rule, disorder or riote by gaming or otherwise, is there permitted. Playing at Dice or Cards is by the law present death.

At this Cashan they remained about the space of tenne weekes, and then came downe againe to Shamaky, and after some time spent in divers places of the countrey for buying of rawe silke and other commodities, they came at last to Shavaran againe, where their ship was in harbour, and then they shipt all their goods and embarked themselves also, setting sayle the eight day of May, in the yeere 1573. intending to fetch Astracan. By reason of the varietie of the windes and dangerous flats of the Caspian sea, they beat it up and downe some 20. dayes. And the 28. day riding at anker upon the flats, certaine Russe Cassaks, which are outlawes or banished men, having intelligence of their being there, and of the great wealth that they had with them, came to them with divers boates under the colour of friendship, and entred their ship, but immediately they tooke their hatchets & slew divers of the Russes that were of the ship upon the hatches: Whereupon master Ducket, Lionell Plumtree, William Smith, the master, a man of singular valure, and Amos Riall being under the Spar-decke, did so well behave themselves, that they skowred the hatches, and

slew 14. of the Cassaks gunners, and hurt and wounded about 30. more, being of them al in number 150. at the least, armed with calivers and other weapons fit for so villanous a purpose.

M. Ducket notwithstanding and the rest aforesaid received divers wounds from the enemie, and were so hurt, and withall so oppressed with the multitude and force of them, that they were at last constrained to make an agreement with the Cassaks by rendring the ship into their hands, having received first their othes sworne by their crucifixes, not to do any further harme to their persons.

Thus the shippe being taken, and all the English grievously hurt, the Cassaks immediately discharged the ship of them, putting them all into the ship boate with two or three Persian targets full of horse flesh and swines flesh, without further victuals or reliefe: they being in that case, made the best hast they could to get to Astracan: and being come to the towne, master Ducket made great sute to the captaine to have men and boates set out for the rescuing and recovering of the ship if it were possible: who immediately sent out his sonne with fortie boates and five hundred men to pursue the Pirats, and by good hap came to the place where they rid at anker with the ship, but by reason of their foolishnes in striking up their drums before they were come neere them, the Cassaks discovering the boats, cut their gables and put out to sea, whereupon the boats not being able to folow them, returned againe to Astracar. After which, 60. boats more were sent out to pursue them againe the second time: & that second army came to a place where they found many of those Cassaks and slew them, and found out the places where they had hid certaine parcels of their goods in the earth in the chests of the ship: all which they recovered againe for the English merchants, to the value of 5000. li. of 30. or 40. thousand pound, but all the rest the Cassaks in the ship had caried away.

In the same place they found further divers of the Cassaks which the Englishmen had slaine, buried in the earth, and wrapt some in fortie or fifty yards of Sattin and Taffataes, and some in Turkie carpets cut & spoiled by those villanous Pirats, of whom afterwards as many as could be taken by the Persians who entirely loved the

English merchants, were put to most cruell torments in all places according to their deserts.

But our men being thus spoyled of their goods, and wounded in their bodies, remained about two moneths at Astracan for their better recoverie: & having gotten some reasonable strength, they then provided boates and went up the river of Volga to Cazan, with such goods as they had recovered from the Cassaks. From Cazan they went towards Yeraslave, but in the way the ice intercepted them about the beginning of October, where suddenly in the night they were taken with a cruell and vehement frost, and therewithall the waters so congeled, that their boates were crushed and cut in sunder with the ice, whereby they sustained both a further danger of life and losse of goods: but as much as they could preserve with much adoe, they conveyed over land in sleds to Vologda, and from thence sent much of it to Saint Nicholas to be laden in the ships for England.

But Master Ducket, Lionel Plumtree and Amos Riall went with some parcels to the Mosko, and there sold certaine quantities of it to the Emperour, who pitying the mightie losse that they had sustained by his owne rebellious people and subjects, bought himselfe as much as hee liked, and payed present money for the same. So that Winter being spent out in Mosko, and such wares provided by them as served for England, they departed to Saint Nicholas, and there embarked in the moneth of August: and having endured a very terrible passage in nine weekes and three dayes, with some hardnesse of victuals, contrary and furious windes, and other sea accidents, they arrived at London in the moneth of October, one thousand five hundred seventie and foure, and so made an ende of an unfortunate voyage: which if it had pleased God to prosper, that all things had come home as safely as they were carefully provided, and painfully laboured for, it had proved the richest voiage and most profitable returne of commoditie, that had ever bene undertaken by English merchants, who, notwithstanding all misfortunes, lost nothing of their principall adventure, but onely the interest and gaine that might have risen by the use of their stocke in the meane time.

Further observations concerning the state of Persia, taken in the foresayd fift voyage into those partes, and written by M. Geffrey Ducket, one of the Agents employed in the same.

SHAMAKY is the fairest towne in all Media, and the chieftest commoditie of that countrey is rawe silke, & the greatest plentie thereof is at a towne three dayes journey from Shamaky called Arash: and within 3. dayes journey of Arash is a countrey named Grosin, whose inhabitants are Christians, & are thought to be they which are otherwise called Georgians: there is also much silke to be sold. The chiefe towne of that countrey is called Zegham, from whence is caried yeerely into Persia, an incredible quantitie of Hasell nuts, all of one sort and goodnesse, and as good and thin shaled as are our Filberds. Of these are caried yeerely the quantitie of 4000. Camels laden.

Of the name of the Sophy of Persia, & why he is called the Shaugh, and of other customes.

THE king of Persia (whom here we call the great Sophy) is not there so called, but is called the Shaugh. It were there dangerous to cal him by the name of Sophy, because that Sophy in the Persian tongue, is a begger, & it were as much as to call him, The great begger. He lieth at a towne called Casbin, which is situate in a goodly fertile valley of 3. or 4. daies journey in length. The towne is but evil builded, and for the most part all of bricke, not hardened with fire, but only dried at the sunne, as is the most part of the building of all Persia. The king hath not come out of the compasse of his owne house in 33. or 34. yeeres, whereof the cause is not knowen, but as they say, it is upon a superstition of certaine prophesies to which they are greatly addicted: he is now about 80. yeeres of age, and very lusty. And to keepe him the more lusty, he hath 4. wives alwayes, and about 300. concubines, and once in the yeere he hath all the faire maidens and wives that may be found a great way about brought unto him, whom he diligently peruseth, feeling them in all parts, taking such as he liketh, and putting away some of them which he hath kept before, & with them that he putteth away, he gratifieth some such as hath done him the best

service. And if hee chance to take any mans wife, her husband is very glad thereof, and in recompense of her, oftentimes he giveth the husband one of his old store, whom he thankfully receiveth.

If any stranger being a Christian shall come before him, he must put on a new paire of shooes made in that countrey, and from the place where he entreth, there is digged as it were a causey all the way, until he come to the place where he shal talke with the king, who standeth alwayes above in a gallerie, when he talketh with any strangers: and when the stranger is departed, then is the causey cast downe, and the ground made even againe.

Of the religion of the Persians.

THEIR religion is all one with the Turkes, saving that they differ who was the right successor of Mahumet. The Turkes say that it was one Homer and his sonne Usman. But the Persians say that it was one Mortus Ali, which they would proove in this maner. They say there was a counsell called to decide the matter who should be the successor: and after they had called upon Mahumet to reveale unto them his will and pleasure therein, there came among them a litle Lizard, who declared that it was Mahumets pleasure that Mortus Ali should be his successor. This Mortus Ali was a valiant man and slew Homer the Turkes prophet. He had a sword that hee fought withall, with the which hee conquered all his enemies, and killed as many as he stroke. When Mortus Ali died, there came a holy prophet, who gave them warning that shortly there would come a white Camell, upon the which he charged them to lay the body and sword of Mortus Ali, and to suffer the Camel to cary it whither he would. The which being performed, the said white camell caried the sword & body of Mortus Ali unto the sea side, and the camell going a good way into the sea, was with the body & sword of Mortus Ali taken up into heaven, for whose return they have long looked in Persia. And for this cause the king alwayes keepeth a horse ready sadled for him, and also of late kept for him one of his owne daughters to be his wife, but she died in the yere of our Lord, 1573. And they say furthermore, y^t if he come not shortly, they shalbe of our beliefe: much like the Jewes, looking for their Messias to come & reigne among them like a worldly king for ever, and

deliver them from the captivitie which they are now in among the Christians, Turkes, and Gentiles.

The Shaugh or king of Persia is nothing in strength & power comparable unto the Turke: for although he hath a great Dominion, yet is it nothing to be compared with the Turks: neither hath he any great Ordinance or gunnes, or harquebusses. Notwithstanding his eldest sonne Ismael about 25. yeeres past, fought a great battell with the Turke, and slew of his armie about an hundreth thousand men: who after his returne, was by his father cast into prison, and there continueth until this day: for his father the Shaugh had him in suspicion that he would have put him downe, and have taken the regiment unto himselfe.

Their opinion of Christ is, that he was an holy man and a great Prophet, but not like unto Mahumet: saying, that Mahumet was the last prophet by whom all things were finished, & was therefore the greatest. To proove that Christ was not Gods sonne, they say that God had never wife, and therefore could have no sonne or children. They go on pilgrimage from the furthest part of Persia unto Mecha in Arabia, and by the way they visite also the sepulchre of Christ at Jerusalem, which they now call Couch Kaly.

The most part of spices which commeth into Persia is brought from the Island of Ormus, situate in the gulfe of Persia called Sinus Persicus, betweene the maine land of Persia and Arabia, &c. The Portingals touch at Ormus both in their voyage to East India and homeward againe, and from thence bring all such spices as are occupied in Persia and the regions thereabout: for of pepper they bring very small quantitie, and that at a very deare price.

The Turkes oftentimes bring pepper from Mecha in Arabia, which they sell as good cheape as that which is brought from Ormus. Silkes are brought from no place, but are wrought all in their owne countrey. Ormus is within two miles of the maine land of Persia, and the Portingals fetch their fresh water there, for the which they pay tribute to the Shaugh or king of Persia.

Within Persia they have neither gold nor silver mines, yet have they coined money both of gold and silver, and also other small moneys of copper. There is brought into Persia an incredible summe of Dutch dollars, which for the most part are there imploied in raw silke.

They have few bookes and lesse learning, and are for the most part very brutish in all kind of good sciences, saving in some kind of silke works, and in such things as pertaine to the furniture of horses, in the which they are passing good.

Their lawes are as in their religion, wicked and detestable. And if any man offend the prince, he punisheth it extremely, not onely in the person that offendeth, but also in his children, and in as many as are of his kin. Theft and murther are often punished, yet none otherwise then pleaseth him that is ruler in the place where the offence is committed, and as the partie offending is able to make friends, or with money to redeeme his offence.

There is oftentimes great mutinie among the people in great Townes which of Mortus Ali his sonnes was greatest: insomuch that sometimes in the towne two or three thousand people are together by the eares for the same, as I have scene in the towne of Shamaky and Ardouil, and also in the great City of Teveris, where I have scene a man comming from fighting, in a braverie bringing in his hand foure or five mens heads, carying them by the haire of the head: for although they shave their heads most commonly twise a weeke, yet leave they a tuft of haire upon their heads about 2. foote long. I have enquired why they leave the tuft of haire upon their heads. They answer, that thereby they may easiler be caried up into heaven when they are dead.

For their religion they have certaine priests who are appavelled like unto other men. They use every morning and afternoone to go up to the tops of their churches, and tell there a great tale of Mahumet and Mortus Ali: and other preaching have they none. Their Lent is after Christmas, not in abstinence from flesh onely, but from all meats and drinks, untill the day be off the skie, but then they eate somtimes the whole night. And although it be against their religion to drinke wine, yet at night they will take great excesse thereof and be drunken. Their Lent beginneth at the new Moone, and they do not enter into it untill they have scene the same: neither yet doeth their Lent end, untill they have seen the next new Moone, although the same (through close weather) should not be seen in long time.

They have among them certaine holy men whom they call Setes, counted holy for that they or any of their

ancestors have bene on pilgrimage at Mecha in Arabia, for whosoever goeth thither on pilgrimage to visite the sepulchre of Mahumet, both he and all his posteritie are ever after called Setes, and counted for holy men, and have no lesse opinion of themselves. And if a man contrary one of these, he will say that he is a Saint, and therefore ought to be beleaved, and that hee cannot lie, although he lie never so shamefully. Thus a man may be too holy, and no pride is greater then spirituall pride of a mind puffed up with his owne opinion of holinesse. These Setes do use to shave their heads all over, saving on the sides a litle above the temples, the which they leave unshaven, and use to braid the same as women do their haire, and to weare it as long as it will grow.

Every morning they use to worship God, Mahumet, and Mortus Ali, & in praying turne themselves toward the South, because Mecha lieth that way from them. When they be in travell on the way, many of them will (as soone as the Sunne riseth) light from their horses, turning themselves to the South, and will lay their gownes before them, with their swords and beads, and so standing upright worship to the South: and many times in their prayers kneele downe and kisse their beads, or somewhat els that lieth before them.

The men or women doe never goe to make water, but they use to take with them a pot with a spout, and after they have made water, they flash some water upon their privy parts, and thus doe the women as well as the men: and this is a matter of great religion among them, and in making of water the men do cower downe as well as the women.

When they earnestly affirme a matter, they will sweare by God, Mahumet, or Mortus Ali, and sometimes by all at ones: as thus in their owne language, saying, Olla, Mahumet, Ali. But if he will sweare by the Shaugh's head, in saying Shaugham basshe, you may then beleieve him if you will.

The Shaugh keepeth a great magnificence in his court: and although sometimes in a moneth or six weekes none of his nobilitie or counsaile can see him, yet goe they daily to the court, and tary there a certaine time untill they have knowen his pleasure whether hee will commaund them any thing or not. Hee is watched every night with a thousand of his men, which are called his Curshes, who

are they that hee useth to send into the Countreis about his greatest affaires. When he sendeth any of them (if it be to the greatest of any of his nobilitie) he will obey them, although the messenger should beat any of them to death.

The Shaugh occupieth himselfe alwayes two dayes in the weeke in his Bathstove, and when he is disposed to goe thither, he taketh with him five or sixe of his concubines, more or lesse, and one day they consume in washing, rubbing, and bathing him, and the other day in paring his nailes, and other matters. The greatest part of his life hee spendeth amongst his wives and concubines. Hee hath now reigned about fiftie and foure yeeres, and is therefore counted a very holy man, as they ever esteeme their kings, if they have reigned fiftie yeeres or more : for they measure the favour of God by a mans prosperitie, or his displeasure by a mans misfortune or adversitie. The great Turke hath this Shaugh in great reverence, because he hath reigned king so long time.

I have sayd before that hee hath foure wives, and as many concubines as him listeth : and if he chance to have any children by any of his concubines, and be minded that any of those children shall inherite after him, then when one of his wives dieth, the concubine whom hee so favoureth, he maketh one of his wives, and the childe whom he so loveth best, he ordaineth to bee king after him.

What I heard of the maner of their mariages, for offending of honest consciences and chaste eares, I may not commit to writing : their fasting I have declared before. They use circumcision unto children of seven yeeres of age, as do the Turkes.

Their houses (as I have said) are for the most part made of bricke, not burned but only dried in the Sunne : In their houses they have but little furniture of houshold stuffe, except it be their carpets and some copper worke : for all their kettles & dishes wherein they eate, are of copper. They eate on the ground, sitting on carpets crosse legged as do Tailors. There is no man so simple but he sitteth on a carpet better or worse, and the whole house or rounge wherein he sitteth is wholly covered with carpets. Their houses are all with flat roofes covered with earth : and in the Sommer time they lie upon them all night.

They have many bond servaunts both men and women. Bondmen and bondwomen, is one of the best kind of merchandise that any man may bring. When they buy any maydes or yong women, they use to feele them in all partes, as with us men doe horses: when one hath bought a yong woman, if he like her, he will keepe her for his owne use as long as him listeth, and then selleth her to an other, who doeth the like with her. So that one woman is sometimes sold in the space of foure or five yeeres, twelve, or twentie times. If a man keepe a bondwoman for his owne use, and if hee find her to be false to him, and give her body to any other, he may kill her if he will.

When a merchant or traveller commeth to any towne where he entendeth to tary any time, he hireth a woman, or somtimes 2. or 3. during his abode there. And when he commeth to an other towne, he doeth the like in the same also: for there they use to put out their women to hire, as wee do here hackney horses.

There is a very great river which runneth through the plaine of Javat, which falleth into the Caspian sea, by a towne called Bachu, neere unto which towne is a strange thing to behold. For there issueth out of the ground a marveilous quantitie of oyle, which oyle they fetch from the uttermost bounds of all Persia: it serveth all the countrey to burne in their houses.

This oyle is blacke, and is called Nefte: they use to cary it throughout all the Countrey upon kine & asses, of which you shall oftentimes meet with foure or five hundred in a company. There is also by the said towne of Bachu another kind of oyle which is white and very precious: and is supposed to be the same that here is called Petroleum. There is also not far from Shamaky, a thing like unto tarre, and issueth out of the ground, whereof we have made the prooffe, that in our ships it serveth well in the stead of tarre.

In Persia are kine of two sorts: the one like unto ours in these partes: the other are marveilous evill favoured, with great bones and very leane, and but litle haire upon them: their milke is walowish sweete: they are like unto them which are spoken of in the Scripture, which in the dreame of Pharao signified the seven deare yeeres: for a leaner or more evill favoured beast can no man see.

In the countrey of Shirvan (sometime called Media) if

you chance to lie in the fields neere unto any village, as the twilight beginneth, you shall have about you two or three hundred foxes, which make a marveilous wawling or howling: and if you looke not well to your victuals, it shal scape them hardly but they will have part with you.

The Caspian sea doeth neither ebbe nor flowe, except sometimes by rages of wind it swelleth up very high: the water is very salt. Howbeit, the quantitie of water that falleth out of the great river of Volga maketh the water fresh at the least twentie leagues into the sea. The Caspian sea is marveilous full of fish, but no kind of monstrous fish, as farre as I could understand, yet hath it sundry sortes of fishes which are not in these parts of the world.

The mutton there is good, and the sheepe great, having very great rumpes with much fat upon them.

Rice and mutton is their chiefe victuall.

The copy of a letter sent to the Emperour of Moscovie, by Christopher Hodsdon and William Burrough, Anno 1570.

MOST mightie Emperour, &c. Whereas Sir William Garrard and his felowship the company of English mēchants, this last Winter sent hither to the Narve three ships laden with merchandise, which was left here, and with it Christopher Hodsdon one of the sayd felowship, and their chiefe doer in this place, who when hee came first hither, and untill such time as hee had dispatched those ships from hence, was in hope of goods to lade twelve or thirteene sailes of good ships, against this shipping, wherefore he wrote unto the sayd Sir William Garrard and his companie to send hither this spring the sayd number of thirteene ships. And because that in their comming hither wee found the Freebooters on the sea, and supposing this yeere that they would be very strong, he therefore gave the said sir William and his Companie advise to furnish the sayd number of ships so strongly, as they should bee able to withstand the force of the Freebooters: whereupon they have according to his advise sent this yeere thirteene good ships together well furnished with men and munition, and all other necessities for the warres, of which 13. ships William Burrough one of the said felowship is captaine generall, unto whom there was

given in charge, that if hee met with any the Danske Freebooters, or whatsoever robbers and theeves that are enimies to your highnesse, he should doe his best to apprehend and take them. It so hapned that the tenth day of this moneth the sayd William with his fleete, met with sixe ships of the Freebooters neere unto an Island called Tuttee, which is about 50. versts from Narve, unto which Freebooters he with his fleete gave chase, and tooke of them the Admirall, wherein were left but three men, the rest were fled to shore in their boats amongst the woods upon Tuttee, on which ship he set fire and burnt her. He also tooke foure more of those ships which are now here, and one ship escaped him : out of which foure ships some of the men fled in their boates and so escaped, others were slaine in fight, and some of them when they saw they could not escape, cast themselves willingly into the Sea and were drowned. So that in these five ships were left but 83. men.

The said Wil. Borough when he came hither to Narve, finding here Christopher Hodsdon aforenamed, both the said Christopher and William together, in the name of sir William Garrard and the rest of their whole companie and felowship, did present unto your highnesse of those Freebooters taken by our ships 82. men, which we delivered here unto Knez Voivoda, the 13. of this moneth. One man of those Freebooters we have kept by us, whose name is Haunce Snarke a captaine. And the cause why we have done it is this : When wee should have delivered him with the rest of his felowes unto the Voivodaes officers, there were of our Englishmen more then 50. which fell on their knees unto us, requesting that he might be reserved in the ship, and caried back into England : and the cause why they so earnestly intreated for him, is, that some of those our Englishmen had bene taken with Freebooters, and by his meanes had their lives saved, with great favour besides, which they found at his hands. Wherefore if it please your highnesse to permit it, we will cary him home with us into England, wherein we request your majesties favour : notwithstanding what you command of him shalbe observed.

Wee have also sent our servant to your highnesse with such bestellings and writings as wee found in those shippes : whereby your Majestie may see by whom, and in what order they were set out, and what they pretended,

which writings wee have commended unto Knez Yorive your Majesties Voivoda at Plesco, by our servant. And have requested his furtherance for the safe deliverie of them to your majesties hands: which writings when you have perused, we desire that they may be returned unto us by this our servaunt, as speedily as may bee: for these ships which we now have here will be soone dispatched from hence, for that we have not goods to lade above the halfe of them. And the cause is, we have this winter (by your majesties order) bene kept from trafiquing, to the companies great losse. But hoping your majestie will hereafter have consideration thereof, and that we may have free libertie to trafique in all partes of your majesties Countries, according to the priviledge given unto us, we pray for your majesties health, with prosperous successe to the pleasure of God. From Narve the 15 of July, Anno 1570.

Your Majesties most humble and obedient,
Christopher Hodsdon. William Borough.

A letter of Richard Uscombe to M. Henrie Lane, touching the burning of the Citie of Mosco by the Crimme Tartar: written in Rose Island the 5. day of August, 1571.

MASTER LANE I have me commended unto you. The 27. of July I arrived here with the Magdalene, and the same day and houre did the Swallow and Harry arrive here also. At our comming I found master Proctor here, by whom wee understand very heavie newes. The Mosco is burnt every sticke by the Crimme the 24. day of May last, and an innumerable number of people: and in the English house was smothered Thomas Southam, Tofild, Waverley, Greenes wife and children, two children of Rafe, & more to the number of 25. persons were stifeled in our Beere seller: and yet in the same seller was Rafe, his wife, John Browne, and John Clarke preserved, which was wonderfull. And there went into that seller master Glover and master Rowley also: but because the heate was so great, they came foorth againe with much perill, so that a boy at their heeles was taken with the fire, yet they escaped blindfold into another seller, and there, as Gods will was, they were preserved. The Emperour fled out of the field, and many of his people were caried away by the Crimme Tartar: to wit, all the yong people, the old they would

not meddle with, but let them alone, and so with exceeding much spoile and infinite prisoners, they returned home againe. What with the Crimme on the one side, and with his crueltie on the other, he hath but few people left. Commend me to mistresse Lane your wife, and to M. Locke, and to all our friends.

Yours to command, Richard Uscombe.

A note of the proceeding of M. Anthonie Jenkinson, Ambassadors from the Queenes most excellent Majestie, to the Emperour of Russia, from the time of his arrivall there, being the 26. of July 1571, untill his departure from thence the 23. of July 1572.

THE said 26. day I arrived with the two good ships called the Swallow and the Harry in safetie, at the Baie of S. Nicholas in Russia aforesayd, and landed at Rose Island, from whence immediately I sent away my interpreter Daniel Silvester in post towards the Court, being then at the Mosco, whereby his majestie might as well bee advertised of my arrivall in his Dominions, as also to know his highnesse pleasure for my further accesse. And remaining at the sayd Island two or three dayes, to have conference with your Agent about your affaires, I did well perceive by the wordes of the sayd Agent and others your servants, that I was entred into great perill and danger of my life: for they reported to mee that they heard said at the Mosco, that the princes displeasure was such against me, that if ever I came into his countrey againe, I should loose my head, with other words of discouragement. Whereat I was not a litle dismaid, not knowing whether it were best for me to proceed forwards, or to returne home againe with the ships for the safeguard of my life. But calling to mind mine innocencie and good meaning, and knowing my selfe not to have offended his Majestie any maner of wayes either in word or deed, or by making former promises not performed, heretofore by mine enemies falsly surmised: and being desirous to come to the triall thereof, whereby to justifie my true dealings, and to reprove my sayd enemies as well here as there, who have not ceased of late by untrue reports to impute the cause of the sayd Emperors displeasure towards you to proceed of my dealings, and promises made to him at my last being with him (although by his letters to the Queenes Majestie, and by his owne words to me the

contrary doeth appeare) I determined with my selfe rather to put my life into his hands, & by the providence of God to prosecute the charge committed unto me, then to returne home in vaine, discouraged with the words of such, who had rather that I had taried at home, then to be sent over with such credite, whereby I might sift out their evil doings, the onely cause of your losse.

Wherefore, leaving the said ships the nine and twentieth day of the moneth, I departed from the seaside, and the first of August arrived at Colmogro, where I remained attending the returne of my said messenger with order from his Majestie.

But all the Countrey being sore visited by the hand of God with the plague, passage in every place was shut up, that none might passe in paine of death: My messenger being eight hundreth miles upon his way, was stayed, and kept at a towne called Shasko, and might not bee suffered to goe any further, neither yet to returne backe againe, or sende unto me: by meanes whereof in the space of foure moneths, I could neither heare nor know what was become of him, in which time my said messenger found meanes to advertise the Governour of the Citie of Vologda, as well of his stay, as of the cause of his coming thither, who sent him word that it was not possible to passe any neerer the Prince without further order from his Majestie, who was gone to the warres against the Swethens, and that he would advertise his highnesse as soone as he might conveniently: And so my said messenger was forced to remaine there still without answer. During which time of his stay through the great death (as aforesaid,) I found meanes to send another messenger, with a guide by an unknown way through wilderness, a thousand miles about, thinking that way he should passe without let: but it prooved contrary, for likewise hee being passed a great part of his journey, fell into the handes of a watch, and escaped very hardly, that hee and his guide with their horses had not bene burnt, according to the lawe provided for such as would seeke to passe by indirect wayes, and many have felt the smart thereof which had not wherewith to buy out the paine: neither could that messenger returne backe unto me.

And thus was I kept without answer or order from his Majestie, and remained at the saide Colmogro, untill the 18. of January following, neither having a Gentleman to

safeguard me, nor lodging appointed me, nor allowance of victuals according to the Countrey fashion for Ambassadors, which argued his grievous displeasure towards our nation. And the people of the Countrey perceiving the same, used towards mee and my company some discourtesies: but about the 28. day aforesaid, the plague ceased, and the passages being opened, there came order from his Majestie that I should have poste horses, and bee suffered to depart from Colmogro to goe to a Citie called Peraslave neere to the Court, his Majestie being newly returned from the said warres. And I arrived at the said Peraslave the 3. of February, where I remained under the charge of a gentleman, having then a house appointed me, & allowance of victuals, but so straitly kept, that none of our nation or other might come or sende unto me, nor I to them. And the 14. of March folowing, I was sent for to the Court, and being within three miles of the same, a poste was sent to the Gentleman which had charge of me, to returne backe againe with mee to the said Peraslave, and to remaine there untill his Majesties further pleasure, wherewith I was much dismayed, and marveled what that sudden change ment, and the rather, because it was a troublesome time, and his Majestie much disquieted through the ill successe of his affaires, (as I did understand.) And the twentieth of the same, I was sent for againe to the Court, and the 23. I came before his Majestie, who caused mee to kisse his hande, and gave gracious audience unto my Oration, gratefully receiving and accepting the Queenes Majesties princely letters, and her present, in the presence of all his nobilitie. After I had finished my Oration, too long here to rehearse, and delivered her highnesse letters, and present (as aforesaid) the Emperour sitting in royall estate stood up and said, How doth Queene Elizabeth my sister, is she in health? to whom I answered, God doth blesse her Majestie with health, and peace, and doeth wish the like unto thee Lord, her loving brother. Then his Majestie sitting downe againe, commaunded all his nobilitie and others to depart, and avoyde the chamber, saving the chiefe Secretarie, and one other of the Counsell, and willing me to approach neere unto him with my Interpreter, said unto me these words.

Anthony, the last time thou wast with us heere, wee did commit unto thee our trustie and secret Message,

to be declared unto the Queenes Majestie herselfe thy Mistresse at thy comming home, and did expect thy comming unto us againe at the time wee appointed, with a full answere of the same from her highnesse. And in the meane time there came unto us at severall times three messengers, the one called Manly, the other George Middleton, and Edward Goodman, by the way of the Narve about the Merchants affaires: to whom wee sent our messenger to know whether thou Anthony, were returned home in safetie, and when thou shouldest returne unto us againe: but those messengers could tell us nothing, and did miscall, and abuse with evil words, both our messenger and thee, wherewith wee were much offended. And understanding that the said Goodman had letters about him, we caused him to be searched, with whom were found many letters, wherein was written much against our Princely estate, and that in our Empire were many unlawfull things done, whereat we were much grieved, & would suffer none of those rude messengers to have accesse unto us: and shortly after wee were infourmed that one Thomas Randolfe was come into our Dominions by the way of Dwina, Ambassadour from the Queene, and we sent a Gentleman to meete and conduct him to our Citie of Mosco, at which time we looked that thou shouldest have returned unto us againe. And the said Thomas being arrived at our said Citie, wee sent unto him divers times, that hee should come and conferre with our Counsell, whereby we might understand the cause of his comming, looking for answere of those our princely affaires committed unto thee. But hee refused to come to our said Counsell: wherefore, and for that our saide Citie was visited with plague, the saide Thomas was the longer kept from our presence. Which being ceased, forthwith wee gave him accesse and audience, but all his talke with us was about Merchants affaires, and nothing touching ours. Wee knowe that Merchants matters are to bee heard, for that they are the stay of our Princely treasures: But first Princes affaires are to be established, and then Merchants. After this the said Thomas Randolfe was with us at our Citie of Vologda, and wee dealt with him about our Princely affaires, whereby amitie betwixt the Queenes Majestie and us might bee established for ever, and matters were agreed and concluded betwixt your Ambassadour and us, and thereupon wee sent our Ambas-

sadour into England with him to ende the same : but our Ambassadour returned unto us againe, without finishing our said affaires, contrary to our expectation, and the agreement betwixt us, and your said Ambassadour.

Thus when his Majestie had made a long discourse, I humbly beseeched his highnesse to heare me graciously, and to give me leave to speake without offence, and to beleve those wordes to be true which I should speake. Which he graunted, and these were my words.

Most noble and famous Prince, the message which thy highnesse did sende by mee unto the Queene her most excellent Majestie touching thy Princely and secret affaires, immediatly, and so soone as I came home, I did declare both secretly and truely unto the Queenes Majestie her selfe, word for word, as thou Lord diddest commaund mee. Which her highnesse did willingly heare and accept, and being mindefull thereof, and willing to answere the same, the next shipping after, her Majestie did sende unto thee, Lord, her highnesse Ambassadour Thomas Randolfe, whose approved wisdom and fidelitie was unto her Majestie well known, and therefore thought meete to bee sent to so worthy a Prince, who had Commission not onely to treat with thy Majestie of Merchants affaires, but also of those thy Princely and secret affaires committed unto mee. And the cause (most gracious Prince) that I was not sent againe, was, for that I was imployed in service upon the Seas against the Queenes Majesties enemies, and was not returned home at such time as Master Thomas Randolfe departed with the Shippes, to come into thy Majesties Countrey, otherwise I had bene sent. And whereas thy Majestie saith, that Thomas Randolfe would not treat with thy Counsell of the matters of his Legation, hee did (Lord) therein according to his Commission : which was : First to deale with thy Majestie thy selfe, which order is commonly used among all Princes, when they send their Ambassadors about matters of great waight. And whereas the saide Thomas is charged that hee agreed and concluded upon matters at the same time, and promised the same should bee perfourmed by the Queene her Majestie : Whereupon (Lord) thou diddest send thy Ambassadour with him into England, for answere thereof : It may please thy Majestie to understand, that as the saide Thomas Randolfe doeth confesse, that in deede hee had talke with thy Highnesse,

and counsell divers times about princely affaires: even so hee denieth that ever hee did agree, conclude, or make any promise in any condition or order, as is alleaged, otherwise then it should please the Queene her Majestie to like of at his returne home, which hee did justifie to thy Highnes Ambassador his face in England. Wherefore, most mighty Prince, it doth well appeare, that either thy Ambassador did untruly enforme thy Majestie, or els thy princely minde, and the true meaning of the Queenes highnes her Ambassador, for want of a good Interpreter, was not well understood: and how thankfully the Queene her Majestie did receive thy highnes commendations, and letters sent by thy Majesties Ambassador, and how graciously shee gave him audience sundry times, using him with such honour in all points for thy sake, Lord, her loving brother, as the like was never shewed to any Ambassador in our Realme, and how honourably with full answer in all things, her Majestie dismissed him, when hee had finished all thy princely affaires (as it seemed) to his owne contentation, it may well appeare by a true certificate lately sent with her highnes letter unto thee Lord, by her messenger Robert Beast, and her Majestie did suppose that that thy Ambassador would have made report accordingly, and that by him thy highnes would have bene satisfied in all things: otherwise she would have sent her Majesties Ambassador with him unto thee Lord againe. But now her highnes perceiving that thy Majestie is not fully satisfied in thy Princely affaires, neither by Thomas Randolfe, her highnes Ambassador, nor by thine owne Ambassador Andrea Savin, nor yet by her Majesties letter sent by the said Andrea: and also understanding thy great griefe and displeasure towards sir William Garret, and his company, merchants traffiking in thy Majesties dominions, hath thought good to send mee at this present unto thee Lord Emperor, and great duke, as wel with her highnes ful mind, touching thy princely affaires, as also to know the just cause of thy Majesties said displeasure towards the said company of merchants: and hath commanded me to answere to all things in their behalfe, and according to their true meanings. For her highnes doth suppose thy Majesties indignation to proccede rather upon the evill, and untrue reports of thy late Ambassador in England, and of such wicked persons of our nation resident here in thy highnes dominions, rebels

to her Majestie, and their Countrey, then of any just deserts of the said merchants, who never willingly deserved thy highnesse displeasure, but rather favour in all their doings and meanings. And since the first time of their traffiking in thy Majesties dominions, which is now nineteene yeres, the said merchants have bene, and are alwayes ready and willing truely to serve thy highnesse of all things meete for thy Treasurie, in time of peace and of warre in despite of all thy enemies: although the Princes of the East Seas were agreed to stoppe the sound, and the way to the Narve, and have brought, and do bring from time to time such commoditie to thee, Lord, as her Majestie doeth not suffer to be transported foorth of her Realme to no other Prince of the world. And what great losses the said sir William Garret, with his company hath sustained of late yeeres in this trade, as well by Shipwracke, as by false servants it is manifestly knownen: and what service the said companies Ships did unto thy Majestie against thy enemies, two yeeres past in going to the Narve, when they fought with the king of Poles shippes Freebooters, and burnt the same and slew the people, and as many as were taken alive delivered unto thy Captaine at the Narve, I trust thy highnesse doth not forget. Wherefore most mighty prince, the premises considered, the Queene her most excellent Majestie thy loving sister, doeth request thy highnes to restore the said sir William Garret with his company into thy princely favour againe, with their priviledges for free traffique with thy accustomed goodnes and justice, to be ministred unto them throughout all thy Majesties dominions, as aforetime: and that the same may be signified by thy Princely letters, directed to thy officers in all places, and thy highnesse commaundement or restraint to the contrary notwithstanding. And further that it will please thy Majestie, not to give credite to false reports, and untrue suggestions of such as are onemies, and such as neither would have mutuall amitie to continue betwixt your Majesties, nor yettercourse betwixt your countries. And such rebels of our nation, as Ralfe Rutter, and others which lye lurking here in thy highnes dominions, seeking to sowe dissentions betwixt your Majesties by false surmises, spending away their masters goods riotously, and will not come home to give up their accompts, advancing themselves to be merchants, and

able to serve thy highnes of all things fit for thy treasurie, whereas indeed they be of no credite, nor able of themselves to do thy Majestie any service at all: the Queene's highnes request is, that it would please thy Majestie to commaund that such persons may be delivered unto me to be caried home, least by their remayning here, and having practises and friendship with such as be not thy highnesse friendes, their evil doing might be a cause hereafter to withdraw thy goodnes from sir William Garret and his company, who have true meaning in all their doings, and are ready to serve thy highnesse at all times, using many other words to the advancement of your credits, and the disgracing of your enemies, and so I ended for that time.

Then sayd his Majestie, We have heard you, and will consider of all things further, when wee have read the Queene our sisters letters: to whom I answered, that I supposed his Majestie should by those letters understand her highnesse full minde to his contentation, and what wanted in writing, I had credite to accomplish in word. Wherewith his Majestie seemed to be wel pleased, and commaunded me to sit downe. And after pawsing a while, his Majestie said these words unto me, It is now a time which we spend in fasting, and praying, being the weeke before Easter, and for that we will shortly depart from hence, towards our borders of Novogrod, wee can not give you answere, nor your dispatch here, but you shall goe from hence, and tary us upon the way, where wee will shortly come, and then you shall knowe our pleasure, and have your dispatch. And so I was dismissed to my lodging, and the same day I had a dinner ready drest sent me from his Majestie, with great store of drinckes, of divers sorts, and the next day following, being the foure and twentieth of March aforesayde, the chiefe Secretary to his Majesty, sent unto mee a Gentleman, to signifie unto mee, that the Emperours Majesties pleasure was, I should immediatly depart towards a Citie, called Otwer, three hundred miles from the aforesaid Sloboda, and there to tary his highnes comming unto a place called Staryts, three score miles from the sayd Otwer.

Then I sent my Interpreter to the chiefe Secretary, requesting him to further, and shew his favour unto our saide merchants in their sutes, which they should have

occasion to move in my absence: who sent me word againe, that they should be wel assured of his friendship, and furtherance in all their sutes. And forthwith post horses were sent me, with a Gentleman to conduct me. And so departing from the said Sloboda, I arrived at the said Otwer, the 28. of March aforesaid, where I remained til the eight of May folowing. Then I was sent for to come unto his Majestie, to the said Staryts, where I arrived the tenth of the same, and the twelfth of the same I was appointed to come to the chiefe Secretary, who at our meeting said unto me these words.

Our Lord Emperor, and great Duke, hath not onely perused the Queene her highnes letters sent by you, and thereby doeth perceive her minde, as well touching their princely affaires, as also her earnest request in the merchants behalfe, but also hath well pondered your words. And therefore his Majesties pleasure is, that you let me understand what sutes you have to move in the merchants behalfe, or otherwise, for that to morrowe you shall have accesse againe unto his highnes, and shall have full answere in all things, with your dispatch away.

Then after long conference had with him of divers matters I gave him in writing certaine brieve articles of requests, which I had drawn out ready, as foloweth:

1 First the Queenes Majestie her request is, that it would please the Emperors highnesse to let me know the just cause of his great displeasure fallen upon sir William Garrard, & his company, who never deserved the same, to their knowledge.

2 Also that it would please his highnes not to give credite unto false and untrue reports, by such as seeke to sowe dissention, and breake friendship betwixt the Queenes highnesse, and his Majestie.

3 Also that it would please his Majestie to receive the said sir William Garrard, with his company into his favour againe, and to restore them to their former priviledges and liberties, for free traffike in, and through, and out of al his Majesties dominions, in as ample maner as aforetime, according to his princely letters of priviledge, and accustomed goodnes.

4 Also it would please his highnes to graunt, that the said company of merchants may have justice of all his subjects, as well for money owing unto them, as other their griefes and injuries, throughout al his dominions

suffred since the time of his displeasure, during which time, the merchants were forced by severe justice to answer to al mens demands, but theirs could not be heard.

5 Also that his Majestie would understand, that much debts are owing to the said merchants, by divers of his Nobilitie, whereof part are in durance, and some executed, and the said merchants know not howe to be paide, and answered the same, except his highnes pitie their case, and commaund some order to be taken therein.

6 Also it would please his highnes to commaund that the saide merchants may be payde all such summe or summes of money as are owing, and due unto them by his Majestie, for wares, as well English, as Shamaki, taken into his highnes treasury by his officers in sundry places, the long forbearing whereof hath bene, and is great hinderance to the said company of merchants.

7 Also it would please his Majestie to understand, that at this present time there are in Persia of English merchants, Thomas Banister, and Geffrey Ducket, with their company, & goods, ready to come into his Majesties countrey of Astracan, and would have come the last yeere, but that the ship, with our merchants and mariners appointed to goe for them, were stayed at Astracan by his highnes Captaine there, to the great hinderance of the said merchants. Wherefore it may now please his Majestie to direct his princely letters unto his Captaines and rulers, both at Astracan and Cazan, not onely to suffer our people, as well merchants as mariners, quietly and freely to passe and repasse with their shippes, barkes, or other vessels downe the river Volga, and over the Mare Caspium, to fetch the sayd English merchants, with their company and goods, out of the sayd Persia, into his Majesties dominions, but also that it would please his highnes streightly to command, that when the sayd Thomas Banister, and Geffrey Ducket, with their charge, shal arrive at the sayd Astracan, his Majesties Captaine there, and in all other places upon the river Volga, shall so ayde and assist the sayd merchants, as they may be safely conducted out of the danger of the Crimmes, and other their enemies.

8 Also it may please his highnes to understand, that lately our merchants comming from Shamaki, have bene ill used by his Majesties Customers, both at Astracan

and Cazan, at both which places they were forced to pay custome for their wares, although they solde no part thereof, but brought the same into his highnesse treasury at Sloboda: and the sayd Customers did not only exact, and take much more custome then was due by his Majesties lawes, but also for want of present money, tooke wares much exceeding their exacted custome, and doe keepe the same as a pawne. It may therefore please his highnes to direct his princely letters to the said Customers, to signifie unto them his great goodnes againe restored unto the said English merchants, as also to command them to send the said merchants their said goods so detained, up to the Mosco, they paying such custome for the same, as shall be by his Majestie appointed.

9 Also that it would please his highnesse to grant, that sir William Garrard with his companie may establish their trade for merchandise at Colmogro in Dwina, and that such wares as shal be brought out of our Countrey fit for his treasurie might be looked upon, and received by his officers there: and that his Majesties people traffiking with our merchants may bring downe their commodities to the saide Colmogro, by meanes whereof the saide English merchants avoyding great troubles and charges, in transporting their goods so farre, and into so many places of his dominions, may sell the same better cheape, to the benefite of his Majesties subjects.

10 Also if it seemed good to his highnes, that the whole trade likewise from Persia, Boghar, and all other those Countreys beyond the Mare Caspium, might be established at Astracan, the ancient Marte towne in times past, which would be both for the great honour and profite of his Majesty, and subjects, as I am well able to proove, if it will please his highnesse to appoint any of his counsell to talke with me therein.

11 Also forasmuch as it pleased his Majestie, immediately after the burning of the Mosco, to command that the said English merchants should give in a note into his Treasury, for their losses sustained by the said fire, which was done by William Rowly, then chiefe Agent for sir William Garrard and his company, and the particulars in the same note consumed with the said fire did amount to the summe of 10000. rubbles and above: It may please his highnes of his accustomed goodnes and great

clemencie to consider of the same, and to give the said company so much as shal seeme good unto his Majestie, towards their said losses.

12 Also that it will please his highnesse to understand that the Queenes most excellent Majestie, at the earnest sute and request of Andrea Savin his Majesties Ambassadour, did not onely pardon and forgive Thomas Glover his great and grievous offences towards her highnesse committed, onely for his Majesties sake, but also commanded sir William Garrard with his company, to deale favourably with the said Glover in his accompts, to whom he was indebted greatly, and being their servant, detained their goods in his hands a long time: whereupon the said sir William Garrard with his company counted with the said Glover, and ended all things even to his saide contentation, and was found to bee debter to the said company 4000. rubbles and above, and bound himselfe both by his solemne othe, and his hand-writing, to pay the same immediatly after his returne into Russia with the said Andrea Savin, unto Nicholas Proctor chiefe Agent there, for the said company of merchants. But although it is now two yeeres past, since the said agreement, and that the said Nicholas hath divers and sundry times requested the said money of the said Thomas, yet will he not pay the same debt, but maketh delay from time to time, alleading that his Majestie oweth him a great summe of money, without the payment whereof he cannot be able to pay the said merchants his due debt long forborne, to their great hinderance. In consideration of the premisses, It may please his highnesse to give order that the said Glover may be payd, and that he may discharge his debt to the said company of merchants, and the rather for that hee found such mercie and favour in England, onely for his Majesties sake.

13 Also forasmuch as Ralfe Rutter a rebell to the Queenes Majestie, and an enemy to his Countrey, and to sir William Garrard and his company, hath of long time remained here, living of the spoyles and goods of the said merchants, which he wrongfully detained in his handes, riotously spending the same, during the time that he was their servant, and would not come home when he was sent for, and also for that the Queenes Majestie doth understand, that the said Ralfe, with other his adherents, doe seeke by all false meanes to sowe

dissention, and breake amitie betwixt their Majesties, and to overthrowe the trade of the said merchants: Her highnes request is, that the said Ralfe with his complices may be delivered unto me, to be caried home, and none other of her Majesties subjects, not being of the societie of the said sir William Garrard and his company, to be suffered to traffike within his highnes dominions, but to be delivered to their Agent to bee sent home: for that the said merchants with great charges and losses, both by shipwracke, and riotous servants, did first finde out this trade, and have continued the same these 19. yeeres, to their great hinderance.

14 Also whereas divers masters and artificers of our Nation are here in his Majesties service, and do finde themselves grieved that they cannot have licence to depart home into their native Countrey at their will and pleasure: the Queenes Majesties request is, according to her highnes writing in that behalfe, that not onely it will please his Majestie to permit and suffer such artificers here resident in the service of his highnes, to have free libertie to depart, and go home with me, if they request the same, but also all other the like, which shall come hereafter to serve his Majesty, to have free libertie to depart likewise, without any let or stay.

15 Also it may please his Majesty to understand that during the time of my long being at Colmogro, attending his highnesse pleasure for my further accesse, I with my company have not onely bene ill used and intreated there, and likewise the merchants there, by one Besson Myserevy his Majesties chiefe officer, who hath dishonoured me, and smitten my people, and oweth the saide merchants much money, and will not pay them: but also the saide Besson hath spoken wordes of dishonour against the Queenes Majestie. Wherefore it may please his highnesse to send downe with me to Colmogro, a Gentleman, as well chiefly to search foorth his evill behaviour towards her Majestie, as towards me her highnesse Ambassador, and to punish him accordingly: and also that it would please his Majestie to sende downe his letter of justice, by vertue whereof the said Besson may be forced to pay all such money as he oweth to the sayd merchants, without delay.

16 Also that it would please his highnesse to understand, that sir William Garrard with his company under-

standing of the great dearth in his Majesties dominions, by licence of the Queens Majestie, (not otherwise permitted) hath sent certaine ships laden with corne into his highnesse Countrey of Dwyna, rather for the reliefe of his Majesties subjects, then for any gaine: yet the good wil of the said merchants lightly regarded, they were forbidden to sel the said corne, to their great discouragement hereafter to send any more. Wherefore it may please his highnesse, to tender the good will of the said merchants, as well in sending the saide corne, as in all other things, ready to serve his Majestie, and to direct his letters to his officers of Dwina, to suffer the saide merchants with their company, to sell the said corne by measure, great or small at their pleasure, without paying custome.

These articles being delivered to the chiefe Secretary, as aforesayde, and our talke ended for that time, I departed to my lodging, accompanied with certaine Gentlemen. The next day, being the 13. of May aforesaid, I had warning early in the morning, to prepare my selfe to be at the Court, betwixt the houres of 10. and 11. of the clocke, where I should have accesse unto the presence of the Prince, as well to receive answeere of all things, as to bee dismissed to goe home. At which houres I was sent for to the Court, and brought into the Chamber of presence, where his Majestie did sit apparelled most sumptuously, with a riche Crowne upon his head, garnished with many pretious stones, his eldest sonne sitting by him, and many of his Nobilitie about him: and after my ductie done, his highnesse commanded me to approach very neere unto him, and sayde unto me these wordes.

Anthony, the Queene our loving sister her letters wee have caused to be translated, and doe well understand the same, and of all things as well therein contained, as by worde of mouth by you to us declared wee have well considered, and doe perceive that our secret message unto you committed, was done truely according to our minde (although wee were advertised to the contrary) and now wee are by you fully satisfied. And when wee did sende our Ambassadour into England, about those our great and waightie affaires, to conclude the same with the Queene our sister, our Ambassadour coulde ende nothing for want of such assurance as was requisite in princely

affaires, according to the maner of all Countreys, but was dismissed unto us againe, with letters of small effect, touching the same, and no Ambassadour sent with him from the Queene: which caused us to thinke, that our princely affaires were set aside, and little regarded, where-with wee were at that time much grieved: for the which cause, and for the evill behaviour of your merchants, resident in our dominions (who have divers wayes transgressed and broken our lawes, living wilfully in al their doings) we did lay our heavie displeasure upon them, and did take away from them their priviledge, commaunding that the same throughout all our dominions, should be voyd, and of none effect: and thereupon did write to the Queene our sister, touching our griefes.

And nowe her highnesse hath sent unto us againe, you her Ambassadour, with her loving letters, and full minde, which we doe thankfully receive, and are thereby fully satisfied. And for that our princely, and secret affaires were not finished to our contentation at our time appointed, according to our expectation, we doe now leave of all those matters, and set them aside for the time, because our minde is nowe otherwise changed, but hereafter when occasion shall moove us to the like, wee will then talke of those matters againe. And for that it hath pleased the Queene our loving sister, to sende unto us at this present, and doeth desire to continue in friendship with us for ever (which wee doe gratefully accept, and willingly agree to the same) wee of our goodnesse for her highnesse sake, will not onely from hencefoorth put away, and forget all our displeasure towards the same Sir William Garrard and his company (as though they had never offended us) but also will restore them to their priviledges, and liberties, in, and throughout all our dominions, and will signifie the same by our letters, in all Townes and Cities, where the said merchants do traffique, and we will shewe them favour as aforetime, if they deserve not the contrary. And if the Queene our sister had not sent thee Anthony unto us at this present, God knoweth what we should have done to the said merchants, or whether we would have called back our indignation.

Then I humbly beseeched his Majestie, to let me know the particular offences committed by the said merchants, and the offenders names, to the intent I might make

report thereof, unto the Queenes Majestie, my mistres, accordingly, that the said offenders might receive just punishments for their deserts: but he said, I should not know them, because he had cleerely remitted al offences: and further, that it was not princely to forgive, and after to accuse the parties, whereby her Majesties displeasure might fall upon them at home. Notwithstanding I did after understand some part thereof, by other meanes.

Then his Majestie proceeding in talke, said: As touching the articles of request, concerning the marchants affaires, which you did yesterday deliver unto our Secretary, we have not onely read the same our selfe, but also have appointed our said Secretary to declare unto you our mind, and answeere to the same. And for that we are now upon our journey towards our borders, and will depart from hence shortly, we will dismissee you to ye Queene our loving sister, your mistres, with our letters, & full mind by word of mouth, touching all your requests, & will send a gentleman one of our houshold with you to safe conduct you to your ships: and of our goodnes will give you victuals, boates, men, and post horses, so many as you shall neede. And therewith his Majestie standing up, and putting off his cappe, said unto me these words. Doe our hearty commendations unto our loving sister, Queene Elizabeth, unto whom we wish long life, with happie successe: and therewith his highnes extended his hand to me to kisse, and commanded his sonne, sitting by him, to send the like commendations, which he did, whose hand likewise I kissed. And then his Majestie caused me to sit downe, and commaunded wine and drinckes of divers sorts to be brought, whereof he gave me to drinke with his owne hand, and so after I departed.

Then the next day, being the 14 of May aforesaid, I was sent for to come to the chief Secretary, & one other of the counsel with him, who at our meeting said unto me these words: We are appointed by the Emperor his majesty, to give you answeere from his Highnes, touching your requests delivered in writing, which his Majestie himselfe hath perused, & answered as followeth.

1 To the first request it is answered, that all his Majesties griefes and displeasure (now put away from the merchants) did grow, because the Queenes Majestie did not accomplish and ende with his ambassador, his secrete and waighty affaires, according to his expectation, and

the promise made by Thomas Randolph, at his being here: and also of the ill behaviour of your merchants resident here in our Countrey, as his Majestie did himselfe yesterday declare unto you.

2 To the second, his Majesty willeth you to understand, that he hath not, nor will not hereafter be moved to breake friendship with the Queenes Majesty, without good and just cause.

3 To the third, you are answered by the Emperors Majestic himselfe, that his great goodnes and favour againe unto the merchants shall be restored, and the same to be knowen by his gracious letters of privilege now againe granted.

4 To the fourth, his majesty hath commanded, that your merchants here resident shall exhibite, and put in writing unto me his Majesties Secretarie, all their griefes, and complaints, as well for debts as other injuries offred them since the time of his Highnes displeasure, and they shall have justice truly ministred throughout all his Majesties dominions without delay.

5 To the fifth, his majesty doth not know of any debts due unto the merchants, by any of his Noblemen, as is alleaged: and whether it be true or no, he knoweth not: the trueth whereof must be tried out, and thereupon answere to be given: and hereafter his majestie would not have the merchants to trust his people with too much.

6 To the sixth, it is answered, that his majesty hath commanded search to be made what money is owing to the marchants, for wares received into his treasury, as in the article: (the most of the bookes of accompt being burnt in the Mosco) and such as is due, & found meete to be paid, shall be paid forthwith to the marchants, their factors or servants, which shall come for the same. And for paiment of the rest, his majesties further pleasure shall be signified hereafter.

7 To the 7 his Majesties answere is, that letters shall be written forthwith to his captaines of Astracan, and Cazan, and other his officers, upon the river Volga, to whom it appertaineth, not onely to suffer your people, both marchants, & mariners, to passe with their ships, or barkes, from Astracan, over the Mare caspium, to fetch Thomas Banister, and Geofry Ducket, with their company, and goods out of Persia, but also when they shall arrive within his Majesties dominions, to aide and

assist them, and see them safely conducted up the river Volga, from danger of enemies.

8 To the eight, his majestie hath commanded letters to be written to the Customers, both of Astracan and Cazan, to make restitution to the English merchants of their goods so detained by them for custome, & to take custome for the same, according to his Majesties letters of privilege.

9 10 To the ninth and tenth articles, his Majestie will consider of those matters, and hereafter will signifie his princely pleasure therein.

11 To the eleventh, as touching an inventorie given into the treasury, what goods the merchants had burnt in the Mosco, in their houses there, his Majesties pleasure was to understande the same, to the intent he might know the losses of all strangers at that present, but not to make restitution, for that it was Gods doing, and not the Emperours.

12 To the twelfth, concerning Thomas Glover, his Majestie was enformed by his Ambassador of the Queenes great mercy and clemencie towards the said Thomas, for his sake, which his Highnes received in good part, but what agreement or dealings was betwixt the said sir William Garrard, & his company, & the said Glover, or what he doth owe unto the said merchants, his Majestie doth not know. And as for the money which the said Thomas saith is owing unto him by the Emperour, his Majesties pleasure is, that so much as shall be found due, & growing upon wares delivered unto the treasure, out of the time of his Majesties displeasure, shall be paid forthwith to the said Thomas, and the rest is forfeited unto his Majestie, and taken for a fine, as appertaining to Rutter and Bennet, accompted traitors unto his Highnes, during the time of his displeasure.

13 To the thirteenth article, concerning Rutter to be delivered unto you, to be caried home, the answeare was, that as his Majestie will not detaine any English man in his Countrey, that is willing to go home, according to the Queenes request: even so will he not force any to depart, that is willing to tary with him. Yet his Highnes, to satisfie the Queenes Majesties request, is contented at this present to send the said Ralfe Rutter home with you, and hath commanded that a letter shall be written unto his chiefe officer at the Mosco, to send the said Rutter

away with speed, that he may be with you at Vologda, by the fine of May, without faile: and touching the rest of your request in the said article, his Majesties pleasure shall be signified in the letters of privilege, granted to the said merchants.

14 To the fourteenth, touching artificers, his Majestie will accomplish all the Queenes Highnes request in that behalfe, and now at this present doth licence such and so many to depart to their native countrey as are willing to goe.

15 To the 15, touching Besson Messerivey, the Emperors majestie is much offended with him, and will send down a gentleman with you to inquire of his ill behavior, aswel for speaking of undecent words against the Queens majestie as you have alleaged, as also against you, and the merchants for his outrages mentioned in the article, & the said Besson being found guilty, to be imprisoned & punished by severe justice accordingly, and after to put in sureties to answere the Emperors high displeasure, or els to be brought up like a prisoner by the said gentleman to answere his offences before his Majestie. And his highnes doth request that the Queenes highnes would doe the like upon Middleton and Manlie her messengers sent thither two yeres past, and of all others for their ill behaviour towards his majestie, as may appeare by letters sent by Daniel Silvester from his highnes, least by the bad demeanor of such lewd persons, the amity and friendship betwixt their majesties might be diminished.

16 To the 16 and last article, touching the corne brought into the Emperors dominions by the merchants, his majestie doth greatly commend them for so wel doing, and hath commanded to give you a letter forthwith in their behalf, directed to his officers of Duina, to suffer the said merchants to sell their corne, by measure great or small at their pleasure without custome.

Thus I received a full answere from his majestie by his chiefe Secretarie & one other of his counsel, to the 16 articles afore rehearsed, by me exhibited in writing touching your affaires, with his letter also sent by me to the Queenes majesty. Which being done, I requested that the new letters of privilege granted by his highnes unto you might be forthwith dispatched, to the intent I might carie the same with me. Also I requested that such

money due to you, which it had pleased his majesty to command to be payd, might be delivered to me in your behalfe.

Touching the letters of privilege, the Secretary answered me, it is not possible you can have them with you, for they must be first written and shewed unto the Emperour, and then three to be written of one tenour according to your request, which cannot bee done with speede, for that his majesties pleasure is, you shall depart this night before him, who remooveth himselfe to morrow towards Novogrod: but without faile the sayd letters shall be dispatched upon the way, and sent after you with speede to Colmogro. And as touching the money which you require, it cannot be paid here because we have not the bookes of accounts, for want whereof we know not what to paie: wherfore the best is that you send one of the merchants after the Emperour to Novogrod, & let him repaire unto me there, and without faile I will paie all such money as shall be appointed by his majestie to be paid after the bookes scene.

But forasmuch as there was none of your servants with me at that present (although I had earnestly written unto your Agent Nicholas Proctor by Richard Pingle one of your owne servants, one moneth before my comming to Starites, where I had my dispatch, that he should not faile to come himselfe, or send one of your servants to mee hither, to follow all such sutes as I should commence in your behalfe which he neglected to doe to your great hinderance) I requested the said Secretarie that I might leave Daniel my interpreter with him, aswel for the receipt of money, as for the speedy dispatch of the letters of priviledge, but it would not be granted in any wise that I should leave any of mine own companie behind me, and thereupon I did take my leave with full dispatch, and departed to my lodging, and foorthwith there came unto me a gentleman who had charge as wel to conduct me, and provide boates, men, post horses and victuals for me all the way to the sea side, being a thousand and three hundred miles, as also to doe justice of the sayd Bessone, as aforesaid. And he said unto me, the Emperours pleasure is, that you shall presently depart from hence, and I am appointed to goe with you. And that night I departed from the said Starites, being the fourteenth of May aforesayd. And passing a great part of my journey,

I arrived at the citie of Vologda the last of the sayd May, where I remained five daies as well expecting a messenger to bring unto me the new letters of priviledge, as the comming of Rutter, whom the Emperours majestie himselfe commanded before my face should bee sent unto me without faile, and I did see the letters written to the chiefe officers at the Mosco for the same. Neverthelesse the said Rutter did not come, neither could I heare of him after, nor know the sudden cause of his stay contrary to the princes owne word and meaning, as I suppose. But I could not help the matter being farre from the prince, neither could I tell how to have redresse, because by absence I could not complaine. Notwithstanding I used my indeavour, and sent a messenger John Norton one of your servants from Vologda to Novogrod, where the court then lay, expressly with letters, as well to advertise his majestie that the sayd Rutter was not sent unto me according to his highnes commandement & order, as also about the dispatch of the said letters of priviledge and receipt of your money, with straight charge that he should in any wise returne unto me againe before the departing of the ships. And the first day of June I departed from the said Vologda by water towards Colmogro, where I arrived the 21 of June aforesaid, and remained there untill the 23 of July, looking for the said John Norton to have returned unto me in al that time, which had respite fully enough in that space both to go to the court to dispatch his busines, and to have returned againe unto me, but he came not, for it was otherwise determined before his going, as I did after understand, and can more at large by worde of mouth declare unto your worships the occasion thereof.

Neverthelesse, I am well assured before this time your Agent hath received into his hands the sayd letters of priviledges, and shall have dispatch with expedition in all things touching your affaires, according to his majesties grant by me obtained, and as he hath written to the Queenes majestie at this present, wishing that as now by my going the Emperour hath withdrawen his grievous displeasure from you, and restored you againe into his favour, so your Agent and others your servants there resident may behave, & endeavour themselves to keepe & augment the same, whose evill doings have bene the onely occasion of his indignation now remitted.

The names of such countries as I Anthony Jenkinson have travelled unto, from the second of October 1546, at which time I made my first voyage out of England, untill the yeere of our Lord 1572, when I returned last out of Russia.

FIRST, I passed into Flanders, and travelled through all the base countries, and from thence through Germanie, passing over the Alpes I travelled into Italy, and from thence made my journey through Piemont into France, throughout all which realme I have thoroughly journied.

I have also travelled through the kingdomes of Spaine and Portingal, I have sailed through the Levant seas every way, & have bene in all the chiefe Islands within the same sea, as Rhodes, Malta, Sicilia, Cyprus, Candie, and divers others.

I have bene in many partes of Grecia, Morea, Achaia, and where the olde citie of Corinth stooode.

I have travelled through a great part of Turkie, Syria, and divers other countries in Asia minor.

I have passed over the mountaines of Libanus to Damasco, and travelled through Samaria, Galile, Philistine or Palestine, unto Jerusalem, and so through all the Holy Land.

I have bene in divers places of Affrica, as Algiers, Cola, Bona, Tripolis, the gollet within the gulfes of Tunis.

I have sailed farre Northward within the Mare glaciale, where we have had continuall day, and sight of the Sunne ten weekes together, and that navigation was in Norway, Lapland, Samogitia, and other very strange places.

I have travelled through all the ample dominions of the Emperour of Russia and Moscovia, which extende from the North sea, and the confines of Norway and Lapland, even to the Mare Caspium.

I have bene in divers countries neere about the Caspian sea, Gentiles, and Mahomeans, as Cazan, Cremia, Rezan, Cheremisi, Mordoviti, Vachin, Nagaia, with divers others of strange customes and religions.

I have sailed over the Caspian sea, & discovered all the regions thereabout adjacent, as Chircassi, Comul, Shascal, Shirvan, with many others.

I have travelled 40 daies journey beyond the said sea, towards the Oriental India, and Cathaia, through divers deserts and wildernesses, and passed through 5 kingdomes

of the Tartars, and all the land of Turkeman and Zagatay, and so to the great citie of Boghar in Bactria, not without great perils and dangers sundry times.

After all this, in An. 1562, I passed againe over the Caspian sea another way, and landed in Armenia, at a citie called Derbent, built by Alexander the great, & from thence travelled through Media, Parthia, Hircania, into Persia to the court of the great Sophie called Shaw Tamasso, unto whom I delivered letters from the Queenes majestic, and remained in his court 8 moneths, and returning homeward, passed through divers other countries. Finally I made two voyages more after that out of England into Russia, the one in the yeere 1566, and the other in the yeere 1571. And thus being weary and growing old, I am content to take my rest in mine owne house, chiefly comforting my selfe, in that my service hath bene honourably accepted and rewarded of her majestie and the rest by whom I have bene imployed.

A letter of James Alday to the Worshipfull M. Michael Lock, Agent in London for the Moscovie company, touching a trade to be established in Lappia, written 1575.

I HAVE in remembrance (worshipful Sir) the talke we had when I was with you, as touching the trade in Lappia: And certainly I have something marveiled that in all this time the right wor. your societie have not given order that some little conference (by you, or with some other) might have bin had with me touching those parts, considering they know (as I thinke) that I remained there one whole yere & more, by which meanes reason would that I should have learned something. But the cause why they have not desired to conferre with me (as I judge) resteth only in one of these 4 cases, that is to say, either they thinke themselves so thoroughly certified of that trade, as more neede not be spoken therof, or that they have no lust more to deale that waies, or that they hold mee so untrusty to them that they dare not open their minds, for feare or doubt, I should beare more affection to others then to them, & so discover their secrets: or els they think me of so simple understanding, that I am not worthy to be spoken with in these matters. To which 4 cases I answere as followeth: First, if they think themselves so thoroughly certified as more need not to be

spoken : certainly I something marvel by whom it should be : for in ye winter past there lay but 5 English persons there, viz. Christopher Colt, Roger Leche, Adam Tunstal cooper, one lad, and I : for Henry Cocknedge was the whole winter at Mosco. And of these persons, as touching Colt, I think him (if I may without offence speake my conscience) the most simple person that was there, (as touching the understanding of a marchant) although indeed he tooke upon him very much to his owne harme & others I doubt, for he used himselfe not like a marchant, neither shewed diligence like a worthy servant or factor, but lay stil in a den al ye whole winter, having wares lying upon his hand, which he would not imploy to any use : although sundry waies there were that he might have put his wares in ready money with gaine, & no great adventure, which money would have bin more acceptable to the poore Lappes & fishermen at the spring, then any kind of wares : but his fond head did as he that had the talent in the Gospel, & yet he had counsel to the contrary which he disdained, so that men perceiving his captious head, left not only to counsell him, but also some, in as much as they might, kept him from knowledge of the trade that might be in that countrey, the winter time, which is better peradventure then most men think of. Wherefore if Colt have written or said any thing touching those countries, it is doubtful whether it toucheth the effect or not, considering he lay still all the winter without trial of any matter. And for Henry Cocknedge assuredly speaking so much as I do perfectly know, I must needs say, that he is a very honest yong man, & right carefull of his busines, and in that respect worthy to be praised. But yet he being absent in the winter other then by hearesay he could not learne, so that his instructions may be something doubtful. And like as of the lad nothing can be learned, so am I sure that Tunstal the Cooper hath not yet bene spoken with, so that of those parts certaine knowledge cannot as yet be learned, except by Roger Leche, of whom I confesse knowledge may be had, for indeed there is no English man living that hath like knowledge in those countries as he hath, nor that is able to do so much with the people as he may : he in the winter travailed one waies & other nere 300 miles : he of a litle made somthing, and learned not only the maners, conditions & customs of the people, but also he learned

of al kind of commodities in those regions how they may be bought at the most advantage, that gaine may be made of them: So that I confesse, if he hath given intelligence to the right Wor. company, then have they no neede to speake with me or any other for to learne of those countries (except it be to heare mine opinion) which in truth I wil alwaies open unto them. But the effect of ye beneficial secrets of that countrey is to be inquired of him, & in mine opinion worthy to be learned, except, as in the second case, they list no more to deale that waies. To which I answere, that if they deale not that waies, & that with speede they seeke not to prevent others y^t mean to deale there, although not English men, let them then not thinke long to have any profitable trade in Russia: for the greater part of that benefit wil be wiped from them, or 5 yeere to an end, as I will shew good reason, if I be demanded the question. Therefore if they will maintaine the Russia trade with advantage, then ought they to looke to this in time, and so may they keepe the Russia trade as it is, and likewise make a trade in Lappia more profitable then that, and therfore this is to bee considered, rather then to prohibite Englishmen from the trade of Vedagoba. For if they looke not to this, and that in time, they may be likened (if it might be without offence spoken) to two dogs that strive for the bone whiles the third run away with it: and yet meane I not otherwise, but in such order, as not Englishmen only, but also Hollanders, Brabanders, & others may be justly and utterly put from the trade in Lappia, and the company to keepe the whole trades to themselves without interruption of any, to their great benefit, which I wish to them from the bottome of my heart, as ever I wished wealth to mine own person: And thereby hold me excused in the third case I write of. And for the fourth as touching my judgement, as I confesse it is not very deepe, so I thanke God I am not utterly without understanding (although I be poore) & therfore peradventure holden out of reputation, yet God doth distribute his gifts as it pleaseth him. I have seen wise men poore in my time, & foolish men rich, and some men have more knowledge then they can utter by speech, which fault was once objected against me by a great learned man of this realme: but surely how weak soever my utterance is, my meaning is faithful and true, and I wish in my heart to your laudable

company al the gaine that may be, or els I pray the Lord God to confound me as a false dissembler. It greeveth me to see how of late they have bin brought to great charges, beating the bush, as the old terme is, & other men taking the birds: this last yere having in Lappia 2 ships, as I am partly informed, they both brought not much above 300 barrells of traine oile, yet am I sure there was bought besides them of the Russes, Corels, & Lappes, 1183 barrells, besides 27 barrells Colt sold to Jacob the Hollander, at two barrells for one Northerne dozen. And yet there is a greater inconvenience springing, which if it take a litle deeper roote it will be (I feare) too hard to be pulled up, which for love & good will (God is my witnes) I write of, wishing as to my deare friends that they should looke to it in time, if they meane to keepe the trade of Russia or Lappia. And thus love hath compelled me to write this advertisement, which I wish to be accepted in as good part, as I with good will have written it.

The request of an honest merchant to a friend of his, to be advised and directed in the course of killing the Whale, as followeth. An. 1575.

I pray you pleasure me in getting me perfect information of the matter hereunder specified.

FOR the provision and furniture for a shippe of 200 tunnes, to catch the Whale fish in Russia, passing from England. How many men to furnish the ship.

How many fishermen skilful to catch the Whale, & how many other officers and Coopers.

How many boats, and what fashion, and how many men in each boate.

What wages of such skilfull men and other officers, as we shall neede out of Biskay.

How many harping irons, speares, cordes, axes, hatchets, knives, and other implements for the fishing, and what sort and greatnes of them.

How many kettles, the greatnesse and maner of them, and what mettall, and whether they bee set on trivets or on furnaces for boiling of the traine oyle, and others.

What quantitie of caske, and what sort of caske, and what number of hoopes and twigges, and how much thereof to be staved for the traine.

What quantitie of victuals, and what kinde of victuals for the men in all the ship for 4 moneths time.

For the common mariners and officers to governe the ship, we shall not neede any out of Biskaie, but onely men skilful in the catching of the Whale, and ordering of the oile, and one Cooper skilfull to set up the staved caske.

Also what other matters are requisite to be knownen, and done for the said voyage to catch the Whale, not here noted nor remembred.

These requests were thus answered, which may serve as directions for all such as shall intend the same voyage, or the like for the Whale.

A proportion for the setting forth of a ship of 200. tunne, for the killing of the Whale.

THERE must be 55 men who departing for Wardhouse in the moneth of April, must bee furnished with 4 kintals and a halfe of bread for every man.

250 hogsheds to put the bread in.

150 hogsheds of Cidar.

6 kintals of oile.

8 kintals of bacon.

6 hogsheds of beefe.

10 quarters of salt.

150 pound of candles.

8 quarters of beanes and pease.

Saltfish & herring, a quantitie convenient.

4 tunnes of wines.

Half a quarter of mustard seed, and a querne.

A grindstone.

800 empty shaken hogsheds.

350 bundles of hoopes, and 6 quintalines.

800 paire of heds for the hogsheds.

10 Estachas called roxes for harping irons.

10 pieces of Arporieras.

3 pieces of Baibens for the Javelines small.

2 tackles to turne the Whales.

A halser of 27 fadom long to turne ye whales.

15 great Javelines.

18 small Javelins.

50 harping irons.

6 machicos to cut the Whale withall.

2 doozen of machetos to minch the Whale.

- 2 great hookes to turne the Whale.
- 3 paire of Can hookes.
- 6 hookes for staves.
- 3 dozen of staves for the harping irons.
- 6 pullies to turne the Whale with.
- 10 great baskets.
- 10 lampes of iron to carie light.
- 5 kettles of 150 li. the piece, and 6 ladles.
- 1000 of nailes for the pinnases.
- 500 of nailes of Carabelie for the houses, and the wharfe.
- 18 axes and hatchets to cleave wood.
- 12 pieces of lines, and 6 dozen of hookes.
- 2 beetles of Rosemarie.
- 4 dozen of oares for the pinnases.
- 6 lanternes.
- 500 of Tesia.
- Item, gunpouder & matches for harqebushes as shalbe needfull.
- Item, there must be caried from hence 5 pinnases, five men to strike with harping irons, two cutters of Whale, 5 coopers, & a purser or two
- A note of certaine other necessarie things belonging to the Whalefishing, received of master W. Burrough.
- A sufficient number of pullies for tackle for the Whale.
- A dozen of great baskets.
- 4 furnaces to melt the Whale in.
- 6 ladles of copper.
- A thousand of nailes to mend the pinnases.
- 500 great nails of spikes to make their house.
- 3 paire of bootes great and strong, for them that shall cut the Whale.
- 8 calve skins to make aprons or barbecans.

The deposition of M. William Burrough to certaine Interrogatories ministred unto him concerning the Narve, Keger, &c. to what king or prince they doe appertaine and are subject, made the 23 of June, 1576.

These articles seeme to have bene ministred upon the quarel between Alderman Bond the elder, and the Moscovie company, for his trade to the Narve without their consent.

FIRST, whether the villages or townes vulgarely called the Narve, Keger, Pechingo and Cola, and the portes of the

same townes, as well at the time of the grant of the letters of privilege by the Emperour to our merchants, as also in the yeeres of our Lord, 1566, 1567, 1568, 1569, 1570, 1571, 1572, 1573, 1574, and 1575, respectively were (as presently they be) of the jurisdiction, and subject to the mightie prince the Emperour of Russia: and whether the saide Emperour of Russia, by all the time aforesaide, was chiefe lord and governour respectively of the said places, and so vulgarly knowen, had, and reputed: and whether the said townes and places, and either of them be situated towards the North and Northeast or Northwest, and between the North and the East point: and be the same places whereunto by force of the said privilege, it is forbidden to any other subject to have traffike, saving to the societie aforesaid.

To this Interrogatorie the deponent saith, that it is true that the villages, townes and places vulgarly called the Narve, Keger, Pechingo and Cola, and the portes thereof, at the time of the grant of the said privilege (as he judgeth) were reputed respectively to be under the jurisdiction, & subject to the Emperour of Russia, and so from the time of the said grant, unto the yeere, 1566, and that in the yeeres of our Lord, 1566, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, and 1575. respectively they were (as presently they be) of the jurisdiction, and subject unto the mighty prince the Emperour of Russia, and the same Emperour of Russia, by all the time aforesaid, was chiefe governour respectively of the said places, and so vulgarly knowen, had and reputed. And that all the said places are situated from London Northwards, betweene the East and the North, and within the grant of the letters patents, and privileges of the said companie of merchants for the discovery of new trades, and the same places whereunto by force of the said letters patents, it is forbidden to any other subject to have traffike saving to the societie aforesaid.

Notwithstanding the Deponent saith, that he hath heard it credibly reported by divers, that the king of Denmarke of late yeres, or every yeere once, hath had one of his subjects or more by him selfe, or with his guide a Lappian, that hath at the places Cola, Keger, and divers other places in Lappia, taken of the Lappies certain tribute or head pence, which the said Lappies have willingly given to winne favour of

the saide prince, and to live quietly by his subjects, the people of Finmarke which border upon their countrey, whereof Wardhouse is the strongest hold, & bordereth neere unto them. Hee hath also hearde that in the time of peace betweene the saide Emperour of Russia, and the kings of Sweden, there was yeerely for the king of Sweden one or more that came into Lappia unto divers places, in maner as the king of Denmarkes servant useth to doe, and did demaund of them some tribute or ductie which they willingly paide: but since the late warres betweene the saide Emperour and king of Sweden, hee hath not heard of any thing that hath bene paide by them to the king of Sweden: such is the simplicitie of this people the Lappies, that they would rather give tribute to all those that border upon their countrey, then by denying it have their ill willes.

But the trueth is, as this Deponent saith, that the saide mightie prince the Emperour of Russia is the chiefe lord and governour of the saide countrey of Lappia, his lawes and orders are observed by them, hee takes toll and custome, &c. of them. They are infidels, but if any of them become Christians it is after the Russe law. If there happen any controversie betweene those people, such as cannot be ended amongst themselves, or by the Emperours deputies in that countrey, they repaire to the Mosko as their highest Court, and there have it ended. Betweene the place specified Kegor, and the confines of Finmarke aforesaide in Lappia, is the monasterie Pechingo, which are monkes, and use the Russe lawe, the chiefe or head of that abbey is alwayes appointed by the cleargie in Mosko.

Also in the yeere of our Lord 1557. the said Deponent was at the place Kegor, in the moneth of June, the 29. day being S. Peters day, at which time was a great assembly of people at a mart there, the Russes, Kerils and Lappians on the one side subjects to the said mighty prince the Emperour of Russia, and the Norwegians or Norses and people of Finmarke subjects to the king of Denmarke on the other part, they did barter and exchange fish for other commodities. The deputie for the Russe had the chief government of the said Mart, and tooke toll of those people y^t were subject to his master, and the captaine of Wardhouse had then the government of the people subject to his master the king of Denmark. He

saith also, that betweene the abbey of Pechingo, and the abbey of S. Nicholas in Russia, upon the border of the said coast of Lappia, he hath bene upon the shore at divers places, where fresh rivers fall into the Sea, where are commonly taken fresh salmons, all which places he doth know for certaine, that they were farmed out to the subjects of the said Emperour, and he the said Emperour received yeerely the rent for them. And further he saith that it hath bene further credibly reported unto him, that there is not any such river or creek of fresh water which falleth out of the said countrey of Lappia into the sea, between the said abbey Pechingo, and the bay of S. Nicholas, but they are all and every of them farmed out, and the Emperour receiveth the rent for them.

Item, whether as well before, as also within the memorie of men, till the time of the graunt of the said letters patents any of the English merchants (saving the merchants of the said societie) subjects of this realme of England, have commonly exercised or frequented businesse or trade in the said villages or townes called the Narve, Keger, Pechingo, and Cola, or in any of them, or in any ports or territories of the said Emperour of Russia.

To this Interrogatorie the Deponent answereth, that the subjects of this realme before the graunt of the said letters patents did not commonly exercise, neither frequent or trade to any of the said places called the Narve, Keger, Pechingo or Cola, or to any of them.

Certaine reasons to dissuade the use of a trade to the Narve aforesaide, by way through Sweden.

THE merchandise of the Narve are grosse wares, viz. flaxe, hempe, waxe, tallow and hides.

The traffique at that place standeth upon the agreement and liking of the Emperour of Russia, with the king of Sweden: for all these merchandises that are brought thither come from Plescove, Novogrod, and other parts of the Emperours dominions.

For transporting those merchandises from Narve to Stockholm, or what other place shall bee thought convenient in Sweden, it must be in vessels of those countries, which wilbe of smal force to resist Freebooters, or any other that shall make quarel or offer violence against them.

When the goods are brought into Sweden, they must be discharged, and new laden into smaller vessels, to cary the same by river or lake a part of the way, and againe to be unladen and transported by land to Newles.

So as the ordinary charges for transporting of goods from Narve to Newles by way as aforesaid, besides the spoile by so often lading and unlading, cariage by land, and the dangers of the seas, pirats, &c. will be such as when it shalbe so brought to Newles it will be as deare to the merchants in that place as it shall be worth to be sold in London, wherefore the trade that wayes cannot be profitable to our nation.

Moreover, when the goods shall be in Newles, it may bee thought doubtfull to bring it thence quietly without disliking or forcible resistance of the king of Denmarke, forasmuch as he maketh quarell, and alleageth damage unto him in his tolles of the Sound by our trade to S. Nicholas, how much more will he now doe by this way, and with how much greater advantage may he performe it? The danger that may grow in our trade to Russia by way of S. Nicholas, through the displeasure that the Emperour may conceive by our trade with the Sweden to Narve is also to be considered.

A remembrance of advise given to the merchants, touching a voyage for Cola abovesaid. 1578.

WHEREAS you require my counsell after what order the voyage for Cola is to be set forth, I answere that I know no better way then hath bene heretofore used, which is after this maner. First of all we have hired the ship by the great, giving so much for the wearing of the tackle and the hull of the shippe, as the ship may be in bignesse: as if shee bee about the burden of an hundred tunnes, we pay fourescore pound, and so after that rate: and thereunto we doe victual the ship our selves, and doe ship all our men our selves, shipping no more men, nor giving them more wages then we should doe if they went of a merchants voyage, for it hath bene a great helpe to our voiage hitherto, to have our men to fish with one boate, & costing us no more charges then it should do, if our men should lie & doe nothing saving the charges of salt, & of lines, which is treble paid for againe. For this last yere past our men killed with one boat betwixt 9. or 10. thousand fish, which yelded to us in money with the oile

that came of it, about 15. or 16. score pounds, which is a great helpe to a voyage. And besides al this, our ship did take in so much oile and other commodities as we bestowed 100. whole clothes in. But because, as I doe suppose, it is not the use of London to take ships to freight after that order before prescribed, neither I think that the mariners will take such paines as our men will: Therefore my counsell is, if you thinke good, to freight some ship of Hul or Newcastle, for I am sure that you may have them there better cheap to freight, then here at London. Besides al this, one may have such men as wil take paines for their merchants. And furthermore when it shal please God that the ship shal returne to come to discharge at Hull, which will be the most for your profit for the sales of all such like commoditie as comes from that place, as for fish, oyle, and Salmon chiefly, hee that will seeke a better market for the sales then at Hull, he must seeke it out of England, for the like is not in England. This is the best way that I can devise, and most for your profite, and if you will, I will also set you downe all the commodities that are necessarie for such a voyage, and which way also that the Hollanders may within two or three yeeres be forced to leave off the trade of Cola which may easily be done. For if my abilitie were to my will, I would use the matter so that they should either leave off the trade, or els cary light ships with them home againe.

A dedicatorie Epistle unto the Queenes most excellent Majestie, written by Master William Burrough late Comptroller of her Highnesse navie, and annexed unto his exact and notable mappe of Russia, brielly containing (amongst other matters) his great travailes, observations, and experiments both by sea and land, especially in those Northeastern parts.

To the most high and renowned Princesse ELIZABETH by the grace of God Queene of England, France and Ireland, &c.

My minde earnestly bent to the knowledge of navigation and Hydrographie from my youth (most excellent my dread Sovereigne) hath eftsoones beene moved by diligent studie to search out the chiefeest points to them belonging: and not therewith sufficed hath also sought by experience

in divers discoveries and other voyages and travailes to practise the same. I was in the first voyage for discoverie of the partes of Russia, which begun in anno 1553. (being then sixteene yeeres of age) also in the yeere 1556. in the voyage when the coastes of Samoeed and Nova Zembla, with the straighes of Vaigatz were found out: and in the yeere 1557, when the coast of Lappia, and the bay of S. Nicholas were more perfectly discovered. Since which time, by my continuall practise in the voyages made yeerely to S. Nicholas in Russia, or to the Narve, and to some other countreys also by Sea: as likewise in passing from S. Nicholas to Mosco, and from Mosco to Narve, and from thence backe againe to S. Nicholas by land, in the yeeres 1574. and 1575. (being then Agent in those countreis for the companie of English merchants for discoveries of new trades) setting downe alwayes with great care and diligence, true observations & notes of al those countreys, Islands, coasts of the sea, and other things requisite to the artes of Navigation and Hydrographie: and with like diligence gathering exact notes and descriptions of the wayes, rivers, cities, townes, &c. as I passed by land: I finde my selfe sufficiently furnished to give report unto your Majesty, and to make description of those North parts of the world in forme and maner of every leagues distance that I have passed & seene in all those my travels. The places herein described, which I have not seene and tried my selfe, I have set downe by the best authorities that I could finde, and therein may erre with the learned Gerardus Mercator, Abraham Ortelius, and the rest: but for the maine part which is from Rochel in France hither to London, and from hence Eastward to Narve by sea, and from thence to Mosco and to S. Nicholas by land: also from hence Northwards and Northeastwards by Sea to Saint Nicholas, and to the straight of Vaigatz (first craving humbly your highnesse pardon) I dare boldly affirme (and that I trust without suspect of arrogancie, since truely I may say it) I have here set it open to the view, with such exactnesse and trueth, and so placed every thing aright in true latitude and longitude, (accompting the longitudes from the meridian of London, which I place in 21. degrees) as till this time no man hath done the like: neither is any man able by learning onely, except he travaileth, as I have done. For as it may be truely saide of navigation and

Hydrographie, that no man can be cunning in the one which wanteth convenient knowledge in the other : and as neither of them can be had without the helpes of Astronomie and Cosmographie, much lesse without these two grounds of all artes, Arithmetike and Geometrie : so none of the best learned in those sciences Mathematicall, without convenient practise at the sea can make just prooffe of the profite in them : so necessarily dependeth art and reason upon practise and experience. Albeit there are divers both learned and unlearned, litle or nothing experienced, which in talke of navigation will enter deeply and speake much of and against errours used therein, when they cannot reforme them. Such also have written therof, pretending singular great knowledge therein, and would so be accompted of, though in very deede not worthy the name of good and sufficient pilots. To whom I thinke it shall not be amisse in defence of rules builded upon reason, and in practise allowed, thus much to say for answer. It is so, that there are rules used in navigation which are not perfectly true : among which the streight lines in sea-cardes, representing the 32. points of the compasse or windes, are not holden to be the least, but noted of such talkers for principall, to condemne the occupiers thereof for ignorant : yet hath the famous and learned Gerardus Mercator used them in his universal mappe. But such as condemne them for false, and speake most against their use cannot give other that should serve for navigation to better purpose and effect. Experience (one of the keyes of knowledge) hath taught mee to say it. Wherein with my abilitie, together with some part of my studie, I am the rather moved (in this my plot) to make some triall unto your majestie : for that I perceive that such attempts of newe discoveries (whereunto this noble Island is most aptly situated) are by your royall maintenance so willingly furthered : beseeching your highnesse so to accept of these my travailes, as a pledge of my well willing to my countrey, and of my loyall service to your majestie, whose healthfull happie life and reigne God continue which is Almighty. Amen.

Your Majesties most humble subject
William Burrough.

The Queenes Majesties letters to Shaugh Thamas the great Sophi of Persia, sent by Arthur Edwards, William Turnbull, Matthew Tailbois, and Peter Gerard appointed Agents for the Moscovie companie, in their sixt voyage to Persia, begun in the yeere 1579.

To the most noble and invincible Emperour of Persia, King of Shirvan, Gilan, Grosin, Corassan, and great Governour of the Indies.

ELIZABETH by the grace of God Queene of England, France and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c. To the most noble and invincible Emperour of Persia, King of Shirvan, Gilan, Grosin, Corassan, and great governour even unto the Indies, sendeth greeting. Most noble and invincible Prince, it is now tenne yeeres since, or thereabouts, wherein (after the honourable ambassade of the noble man Anthony Jenkinson our welbeloved subject, to your most noble and invincible father performed) we laboured to bring to passe by Thomas Bannister and Gefferey Ducket merchants, our subjects, that throughout all the kingdomes subject to his empire, free power might be given to Will. Garrard, Thomas Osley, William Chester knights, Rowland Haiward, Lionel Ducket, William Allen, Thomas Bannister, Gefferey Ducket, Lawrence Chapman Merchants, and unto their societie, to enter into his lands and countreys at al times when they would and could, there to exercise & use their trade of merchandise, and from thence likewise after exchange or sale made of those wares, which they should bring with them with his like good leave and favour, to carie from thence those things wherwith his dominions do abound & with us be scant. Which our petition the most noble prince your father took so thankfully and in such good part, that he not onely graunted franke and commodious leave, as was desired: but the same he would to bee unto them most free and beneficiall, and to have continuance for many yeeres and times. The benefite of the which his wonderfull liberality, our subjects did enjoy with such humanitie & freedome as there could be no greater, till the time that by reason of wars more and more increasing in those partes, by the which our subjects were to make their journey into Persia, they were debarred and shut from that voyage & traffique. The which traffique the said

societie being eftsoones desirous to renew to the weale and commoditie of both our dominions they have now sent into Persia their factors & Agents Arthur Edwards, William Turnbull, Matthew Tailbois, Peter Gerrard merchants, with their associats, whom we beseech your invincible majesty to entertaine with that favour where-with your father did imbrace Tho. Bannister & Geffrey Ducket, and to enfranchise their whole societie with that freedome, that neither they through any their misdemeanours towards your subjects, may thereof seeme unworthy (as we hope they will not) neither we our selves otherwise enjoy them, then with the perpetuall remembrance of your good affection towards us, and with the like favourable inclination of our part towards you. The matter it selfe & tract of time shall sufficiently prove the foresaid maner of traffike unprofitable to neither of us. For so hath one God the chiefe governor of all things disposed of our affaires on earth, that ech one should need other. And as for our people & subjects of the English nation, in verie deed your majesty shal find them made and fashioned so pliant to the perfourmance of all dueties of humanity, that it can never repent you to have graunted them this franke traffike, nor shame us to have obtained it for them at your hands. That therefore it may please your majesty to yeeld unto them this at our request, most earnestly we beseech you. And we (as it wel beseemeth a prince) if ever hereafter we may, wil shew our selfe not to bee unmindfull of so great a benefit. We wish your majesty wel & prosperously to fare. Given at our palace of Westminster the 10. day of June, in the yere of our Lord 1579. and of our reigne the 21.

Advertisements and reports of the 6. voyage into the parts of Persia and Media, for the companie of English merchants for the discoverie of new trades, in the yeeres 1579. 1580. and 1581. gathered out of sundrie letters written by Christopher Burrough, servant to the saide companie, and sent to his uncle Master William Burrough.

FIRST it is to be understood, that the ships for the voiage to S. Nicholas in Russia, in which the factors and merchandise for the Persian voiage were transported, departed from Gravesend the 19. of June, 1579. which arrived at S. Nicholas in Russia the 22. of July, where the

factors and merchants landed, and the merchandise were discharged & laden into doshnikes, that is, barks of the country, to be caried from thence up by river unto Vologda. And the 25. day of ye said Julie, the doshnikes departed from Rose Island by S. Nicholas up the river Dwina, Peremene, that is to say, in poste, by continual sailing, rowing, setting with poles, or drawing of men, which came to Colmogro the 27. day, and departed thence the 29. of Julie up the said river Dwyna, and came to Ustyoug (which is at the head of the river Dwina, and mouth of Sugnano) the 9. of August, where they stayed but a small time, providing some victuals, and shifting certaine of their cassacks or barkmen, & so departed thence the same day up the river Sugnano, and came to Totina (which is counted somewhat more then halfe the way from Ustioug) the 15. day, where they shifted some of their cassaks, and departed thence the same day, and came to the citie Vologda the 19. of August, where they landed their goods, and staied at that place till the 30. of the same. Having provided at Vologda, Telegas, or wagons, whereupon they laded their goods, they departed thence with the same by land towards Yeraslave the said 30. of August at eight of the clocke in the morning, and came to the East side of the river Volga over against Yeraslave, with 25. Telegas laden with the said goods the seventh of September at five of the clocke afternoone. Then the three stroogs or barks provided to transport the saide goods to Astracan (where they should meete the ship that should carie the same from thence into Persia) came over from Yeraslave unto the same side of the river Volga, and there tooke in the said goods. And having prepared the said barks ready with all necessary furniture they departed with them from Yeraslave downe the river Volga on the 14 day of September at nine of the clocke in the morning, and they arrived at Niznovogrod the 17 day at three of the clocke afternoone, where they shewed the Emperors letters to passe free without paying any custome, and taried there about three houres to provide necessaries, and then departing, arrived at Cazan (or neere the same towne) on the 22. of September at five of the clock afternoone, where (through contrary windes, and for providing new cassaks in the places of some that there went from them) they remained till the 26. day, at what time they departed thence about two of the clocke

after noone, and arrived at Tetushagorod, which is on the Crim side of Volga, and in latitude 55. degrees 22. minutes, the 28. day at ten in the forenoone, where they ankered, and remained about 3. houres, and departing thence came to Oveak, which is on the Crims side (on the Westerne side of Volga) the fift of October about five of the clocke in the morning. This place is accounted halfe the way betweene Cazan and Astracan: and here there groweth great store of Licoris: the soile is very fruitfull: they found there apple trees, and cherrie trees. The latitude of Oveak is 51. degrees 30. minutes. At this place had bene a very faire stone castle called by the name Oveak, & adjoyning to the same was a towne called by ye Russes, Sodom: this towne & part of the castle (by report of the Russes) was swallowed into the earth by the justice of God, for the wickednesse of the people that inhabited the same. There remaineth at this day to be seene a part of the ruines of the castle, and certaine tombs, wherein as it seemeth have bin laid noble personages: for upon a tombe stone might be perceived the forme of a horse and a man sitting on it with a bow in his hand, and arrowes girt to his side: there was a piece of a scutchion also upon one of the stones, which had characters graven on it, whereof some part had bene consumed with the weather, and the rest left unperfect: but by the forme of them that remained, we judged them to be characters of Armenia: and other characters were graven also upon another tombe stone. Nowe they departed from Oveak the said fift of October at five of the clocke after noone, and came to Peravolok the 10. day about eleven or twelve of the clocke that night, making no abode at that place, but passed alongst by it. This worde Peravolok in the Russe tongue doeth signifie a narrow straight or necke of land betweene two waters, and it is so called by them, because from the river Volga, at that place, to the river Don or Tanais, is counted thirty versts, or as much as a man may well travell on foote in one day. And seven versts beneath, upon an Island called Tsaritsna the Emperour of Russia hath fiftie gunners all the summer time to keepe watch, called by the Tartar name Carawool. Betweene this place and Astracan are five other Carawools or watches.

1 The first is named Kameni Carawool, and is distant from Peravolok 120, versts.

2 The second named Stupino Carowool, distant from the first 50. versts.

3 The third called Polooy Carowool, is 120. versts distant from the second.

4 The fourth named Keezeyur Carawool, is 50. versts distant from the third.

5 The fift named Ichkebre, is 30. verst distant from the fourth, and Ichkebre to Astracan is 30. versts.

The 16. of October they arrived at Astracan, with their three stroogs in safetie about nine of the clock in the morning, where they found the ship provided for the Persia voyage in good order & readinesse. The 17. day the foure principal factors of the company, Arthur Edwards, William Turnbull, Matthew Talbois, and Peter Garrard, were invited to dine with the chief diake or secretary of Astracan (Vasili Pheodorovich Shelepin) who declared then unto them the troubles that were in Media and Persia: and how the Turke with helpe of the Crims had conquered, and did possesse the greatest part of Media: also he laid before them that Winter was at hand, & if they should put out with their ship to the sea, they should bee constrained to take what hazards might happen them by wintring in the parts of Media, or els where, for backe againe to that place there was no hope for them to returne: whereupon the said factors determined to stay there all Winter to learne further of the state of those countreys.

The 19. of November the winde being Northerly, there was a great frost, and much ice in the river: the next day being the 20. of November the ice stood in the river, and so continued untill Easter day.

The 22. of December departed this life John Moore the gunner of the ship.

Thursday the 7. of January betweene 8. and 9. of the clocke at night there appeared a crosse proceeding from the moone, with two galles at the South and North end thereof.

The 6. of January being Twelke day (which they call Chreshenia) the Russes of Astracan brake a hole in the ice upon the river Volga, & hallowed the water with great solemnity according to the maner of their countrey, at which time all the souldiers of the towne shot off their smal pieces upon the ice, and likewise to gratifie the captaine of the castel being a Duke, whose name is

Pheodor Michalovich Troiocouria, who stood hard by the ship, beholding them as they were on the river, was shot off all the ordinance of our ship being 15 pieces, viz. 2. faulcons, 2. faulconets, 4. fowlers, 4. fowlers chambers, and 3. other small pieces made for the stroogs to shoote hailestones, and afterwards the great ordinance of the castle was shot off.

On the 31. of January there happened a great eclipse of the moone, which began about 12. of the clocke at night, and continued before she was cleare an houre and a halfe by estimation, which ended the first of February about halfe an houre past one in the morning: she was wholly darkned by the space of halfe an houre.

The 26. of February the towne of Nagay Tartars, called the Yourt, which is within 3. quarters of a mile of the castle of Astracan, by casualty was set on fire about 10. of the clock at night, & continued burning til midnight, whereby one halfe of it was burnt, and much cattell destroyed. The Nagayes that inhabite that towne, are the Emperour of Russia his vassals: It is supposed there are of them inhabiting that place of men, women, and children, the number of seven thousand. That night the Allarum was made in the castle and towne of Astracan. The captaine thereof had all his souldiers in very good order and readinesse, being of them in number two thousand gunners and cassaks, that is to say, a thousand gunners, which are accounted meere souldiers, and are not put to any other service then the use of their pieces, watch, &c. as souldiers which alwaies keepe the castle, and the cassaks also using their pieces, do keepe the towne, and are commonly set to all kind of labours.

The 7. of March 1580. the Nagayes and Crims came before Astracan to the number of one thousand foure hundred horsemen, which incamped round about, but the neerest of them were two Russe versts and a halfe off from the castle and town: some of them lay on the Crims side of Volga, and some on the Nagay side, but none of them came upon the Island that Astracan standeth on. It was said that two of the prince of the Crims his sonnes were amongst them. They sent a messenger on the eight day to the captain of Astracan, to signifie that they would come and visit him: who answered, he was ready to receive them: and taking a great shot or bullet in his hand, willed the messenger to tel them that they should

not want of that geare, so long as it would last. The ninth day newes was brought that the Crims determined to assault the towne or castle, and were making of fagots of reede, to bring with them for that purpose. The tenth day two Russes that were captives, and two of the Tartars bondmen ranne away from the Nagayes, and came into Astracan. The same day word was brought to the Duke of two Nagayes which were seene at Gostine house, supposed to be spies, but were gone againe from thence before they were suspected. This Gostine house is a place a litle without the towne where the Tisiks (or Persian merchants) do usually remaine with their merchandize. The 11. day the said Nagayes, and one more with them, came againe to that house earely in the morning, where they were taken by the Russes, and brought to the captaine of the castle, and being examined, confessed that their comming was onely to seeke two of their bondmen that were runne from them: whereupon their bondmen were delivered to them: which favour the said captaine commonly sheweth if they be not Russies, and they were set at libertie. The 13. day they brake up their camps, and marched to the Northwards into the cuntry of Nagay.

The 17. of April the variation of the compasse observed in Astracan was 13. deg. 40. min. from North to West. This spring there came newes to Astracan that the queenc of Persia (the king being blind) had bene with a great army against the Turks that were left to possesse Media, and had given them a great overthrow: yet notwithstanding Derbent, & the greatest part of Media were still possessed and kept by the Turks. The factors of the company consulting upon their affayres, determined to leave at Astracan the one halfe of their goods with Arthur Edwards, and with the other halfe the other three factors would proceed in the ship on their purposed voyage to the coast of Media, to see what might be done there: where, if they could not find safe traffike, they determined to proceed to the coast of Gilan, which is a province nere the Caspian sea bordering upon Persia: and therupon appointed the said goods to be laden aboard the ship, and tooke into her also some merchandize of Tisiks or Persian merchants.

The 29. of April Amos Riall, and Anthony Marsh, the companies servants were sent from Astracan by the said

factors, up the river Volga to Yeraslave, with letters of advise to be sent for England, and had order for staying the goods in Russia that should come that yeere out of England for mainteining the trade purposed for Persia, untill further triall were made what might be done in those parts.

The first day of May in the morning, having the shippe in readinesse to depart, the factors invited the duke Pheodor Micalovich Proiocoorow, and the principall secretary Vasili Pheodorovich Shelepin, with other of the chiefest about the duke to a banquet aboard the ship, where they were interteined to their good liking, and at their departure was shot off all the ordinance of the ship, and about nine of the clocke at night the same day they weyed anker, and departed with their ship from Astracan, and being but litle winde, towed her with the boat about three versts, & then ankered, having with them a pavos or lighter to helpe them at the flats. The second day at foure of the clocke in ye morning they weyed & plyed downe the river Volga toward the Caspian sea. The seventh of May in the morning they passed by a tree that standeth on the left hand of the river as they went downe, which is called Mahomet Agatch, or Mahomets tree, & about three versts further, that is to say, to the Southwards of the said tree is a place called Uchoog, that is to say, the Russe weare: (but Ochoog is the name of a weare in the Tartar tongue) where are certain cotages, and the Emperour hath lying at that place certaine gunners to gard his fishermen that keepe the weare. This Uchoog is counted from Astracan 60. versts: they proceeded downe the said river without staying at the Uchoog. The ninth and tenth dayes they met with shoald water, and were forced to lighten their ship by the pavos: the 11. day they sent backe to the Uchoog for an other pavos: This day by mischance the shippe was bilged on the grappnell of the pavos, whereby the company had sustained great losses, if the chiefest part of their goods had not beene layde into the pavos: for notwithstanding their pumping with 3. pumps, heaving out water with buckets, and all the best shifts they could make, the shippe was halfe full of water ere the leake could be found and stopt. The 12. day the pavos came to them from the Uchoog, whereby they lighted the shippe of all the goods. The 13. day in the morning there came to

them a small boat, sent by the captaine of Astracan, to learne whether the shippe were at sea cleere of the flats. The 15. day by great industry and travell they got their ship cleare off the shoales and flats, wherewith they had beene troubled from the ninth day untill then : they were forced to passe their shippe in three foot water or lesse. The 16. day they came to the Chetera Bougori, or Island of Foure Hillocks, which are counted forty versts from Uchoog, and are the furthest land towards the sea. The 17. day they bare off into the sea, and being about twelve versts from the Foure hillocks, riding in five foot and a halfe water about eleven of the clocke in the forenoone, they tooke their goods out of the pavoses into the shippe, and filled their shippe with all things necessary. The 18. day in the morning about seven of the clock, the pavoses being discharged departed away towards Astracan, the winde then at Southeast, they road still with the shippe, and observing the elevation of the pole at that place, found it to be 45. degrees 20. minuts. The 19. day, the wind Southeast, they road still. The 20. day the winde at Northwest they set saile about one of the clocke in the morning, & stered thence South by West, & Southsouthwest about 3. leagues, and then ankered in 6. foot and a halfe water, about nine of ye clocke before noone, at which time it fell calme : the elevation of the pole at that place 45. degrees 13. minuts. The 21. having the winde at Northwest, they set saile, and stered thence South by West, and South untill eleven of the clocke, and had then nine foote water : and at noone they observed the latitude, and found it to be 44. degrees 47 minuts : then had they three fathoms and a halfe water, being cleare of the flats. It is counted from the Foure hillockes to the sea about fiftie versts. From the said noonetide untill foure of the clocke they sayled South by East five leagues and a halfe : then had they five fathoms and a halfe and brackish water : from that till twelve at night they sayled South by East halfe a league, East tenne leagues : then had they eleven fathome, and the water salter. From that till the 22. day three of the clocke in the morning they sayled three & fifty leagues, then had they sixtene fathome water : from thence they sayled until noone South and by West seven leagues and a halfe, the latitude then observed 43. degrees 15. minuts, the depth then eight and twentic fathoms, and shallow ground :

from that untill eight of the clocke at night, they sayled South by East five leagues and a halfe, then had they three and fortie fathoms shallow ground. From thence till the 23. foure a clocke in the morning, they sailed Southsouthwest three leagues and a halfe: then could they get no ground in two and fiftie fathoms deepe. From thence untill noone they sayled South nine leagues, then the latitude observed was 42. degrees 20. minuts. From that till the 24. day at noone they sayled South by West seventeene leagues and a halfe, then the latitude observed was 41. degrees 32. minuts. From noone till seven of the clocke at night, they sailed Southsouthwest foure leagues, then had they perfect sight of high land or hilles, which were almost covered with snow, and the mids of them were West from the ship, being then about twelve leagues from the nearest land: they sounded but could finde no ground in two hundred fathoms. From thence they sailed Southwest until midnight: about three leagues from thence till the 25. day foure of the clock in the morning, they sayled West three leagues, being then litle winde, and neere the land, they tooke in their sayles, and lay hulling: at noone the latitude observed, was 40. degrees 54. minuts: they sounded but could get no ground in two hundred fathoms. At four of the clocke in the afternoone, the winde Northwest, they set their sailes, & from thence till the 26. day at noone they sailed East southeast foure leagues. From thence they sailed till eight of the clocke at night Southwest three leagues, the winde then at North. From thence they sailed untill the 27. day two of the clocke in the morning, Westsouthwest eight leagues, the winde blowing at North very much. From the sayd two til foure of the clocke they sailed South by West one league: then being day light, they saw the land plaine, which was not past three leagues from them, being very high ragged land. There were certaine rocks that lay farre off into the sea, about five leagues from the same land, (which are called Barmake Tash) they sayled betweene those rocks and the land, and about five of the clocke they passed by the port Bilbill, where they should have put in but could not: and bearing longst the shoare about two of the clocke afternoone, they came to Bildih in the countrey of Media or Shervan, against which place they ankered in 9. foot water. Presently after they were at anker, there came aboard of them a boat, wherein

were seven or eight persons, two Turks, the rest Persians, the Turkes vassals, which bade them welcome, and seemed to be glad of their arrivall, who told the factors that the Turke had conquered all Media, or the countrey Shervan, and how that the Turks Basha remained in Derbent with a garrison of Turkes, and that Shamaky was wholly spoyled, and had few or no inhabitants left in it. The factours then being desirous to come to the speech of the Basha, sent one of the Tisikes (or merchants that went over with them from Astracan, passingers) and one of the companies servants Robert Golding, with those souldiours, to the captaine of Bachu, which place standeth hard by the sea, to certifie him of their arrivall, and what commodities they had brought, and to desire friendshippe to have quiet and safe trallike for the same. Bachu is from Bildih, the place where they road, about a dayes journey, on foote easily to be travelled, which may be sixe leagues the next way over land: it is a walled towne, and strongly fortified. When the sayd messenger came to the captaine of Bachu, the said captaine gave him very friendly intertainment, and after he understood what they were that were come in the shippe, and what they had brought, he seemed to rejoyce much thereat: who gave the said Golding licence to depart backe the next day, being the eight and twentieth day: and promised that he would himselfe come to the shippe the next day following: with which answer the said Golding returned and came to the shippe the sayd eight and twentieth day about nine of the clocke at night. The nine and twentieth day in the morning the factours caused a tent to be set up at shoare neare the shippe, against the comming of the sayd captaine: who came thither about three of the clocke after noone, and brought about thirtie souldiers, that attended on him, in shirts of male, and some of them had gauntlets of silver, others of steele, and very faire. The factors met him at their tent, and after very friendly salutations passed betweene them, they gave him for a present a garment of cloth of velvet, and another of scarlet, who accepted the same gratefully. After they had talked together by their interpretors, as well of the state of the voyage and cause of their comming thither, as also learned of the sayde captaine the state of that countrey, the factours made request unto him, that he would helpe them to the speech of the Basha, who answered that their demand was reason-

able, and that he would willingly shew them therein what pleasure he could, and sayd, because the way to Derbent, where the Basha remaind, was dangerous, he would send thither, and certifie him of their arrivall, and what commodities they had brought, and such commodities as they would desire to exchange or barter the same for he would procure the said Basha to provide for them: and therefore willed the factors to consult together, and certifie him what they most desired, and what quantity they would have provided: so whilst the factors were consulting together thereupon, the captaine talked with a Tisike merchant that came over in the ship with them from Astracan, which Tisike, among other matters in talke, certified the captaine, that the night before, the factors & their company were determined to have returned backe againe to Astracan, and that they were about to wey their ankers, which in deed was true, but the maister of the barke Thomas Hudson of Limehouse perswaded them that the wind was not good for them to depart, &c. When the factors came againe to talke with the captaine, they desired to goe to the Basha, and that he would safely conduct them thither: he granted their requests willingly, desiring them to goe with him to a village hard by, and there to abide with him that night, and the next day they should go to Bachu, and from thence proceede on their journey to Derbent. They were unwilling to go that night with him, because their provision for the way was not in readinesse, but requested that they might stay til the morning. Thereupon the captaine sayd it was reported unto him, that they ment the night before to have gone away: and if it should so happen, he were in great danger of loosing his head: for which cause he requested to have some one for a pledge: wherefore M. Garrard one of the factors offered himselfe to go, who, because he could not speake the Russe tongue, tooke with him Christopher Burrough, and a Russe interpretour: that night they road from the seaside, to a village about ten miles off, where at supper time the captaine had much talke with M. Garrard of our countrey, demanding where about it did lie, what countreys were neare unto it, and with whom we had traffike, for by the Russe name of our countrey he could not conjecture who we should be: but when by the situation he perceived we were Englishmen, he demanded if our prince were a mayden Queene: which

when he was certified of, then (quoth he) your land is called Enghilterra, is it not? answer was made, it was so: whereof he was very glad when he knew the certainty. He made very much of them, placing M. Garrard next to himselfe, and Christopher Burrough, with the Russie interpretour for the Turkie tongue hard by. There was a Gillan merchant with him at that present, of whom he seemed to make great account: him he placed next to himselfe on the other side, and his gentlemen sate round about him talking together. Their sitting is upon the heeles, or crosse legged.

Supper being brought in, he requested them to eate. After their potage (which was made of rice) was done, and likewise their boyled meat, there came in platters of rice sodden thicke, and hony mingled withall: after all which, came a sheepe roasted whole, which was brought in a tray, and set before the captaine: he called one of his servitours, who cut it in pieces, and laying therof upon divers platters, set the same before the captaine: then the captaine gave to M. Garrard and his company one platter, and to his gentlemen another, and to them which could not well reach he cast meat from the platters which were before him. Divers questions he had with M. Garrard and Christopher Burrough at supper time, about their diet, inquiring whether they eat fish or flesh voluntarily, or by order. Their drinke in those partes is nothing but water. After supper (walking in the garden) the captaine demanded of M. Garrard, whether the use was in England to lie in the house or in the garden, and which he had best liking of: he answered, where it pleased him, but their use was to lie in houses: whereupon the captaine caused beds to be sent into the house for them, and caused his kinsman to attend on them in the night, if they chanced to want any thing: he himselfe with his gentlemen and souldiers lying in the garden.

In the morning very early he sent horse for the rest of the company which should go to Derbent, sending by them that went tenne sheepe for the shippe. In that village there was a Stove, into which the captaine went in the morning, requesting M. Garrard to go also to the same to wash himselfe, which he did. Shortly after their comming out of the Stove, whilst they were at breakfast, M. Turnbull, M. Tailboyes, and Thomas Hudson the M. of the shippe, came thither, and when they had all broken

their fasts, they went to Bachu : but Christopher Burrough returned to the ship, for that he had hurt his leg, and could not well endure that travell. And from Bachu they proceeded towards Derbent, as it was by the captaine promised, being accompanied on their way for their safe conduct, with a gentleman, and certaine souldiers, which had the captaine of Bachu his letters to the Basha of Derbent, very friendly written in their behalfe. In their journey to Derbent they forsooke the ordinarie wayes, being very dangerous, and travelled thorow woods till they came almost to the towne of Derbent : and then the gentleman road before with the captaines letters to the Basha, to certifie him of the English merchants comming, who receiving the letters, and understanding the matter, was very glad of the newes, and sent forth to receive them certaine souldiers gunners, who met them about two miles out of the towne, saluting them with great reverence, and afterwarde road before them : then againe met them other souldiours, somewhat neerer the castle, which likewise having done their salutations road before them, and then came foorth noble men, captaines, and gentlemen, to receive them into the castle and towne. As they entred the castle, there was a shot of twentie pieces of great ordinance, & the Basha sent M. Turnbull a very faire horse with furniture to mount on, esteemed to be worth an hundred markes, and so they were conveyed to his presence : who after he had talked with them, sent for a coate of cloth of golde, and caused it to be put on M. Turnbulles backe, and then willed them all to depart, and take their ease, for that they were wearie of their journey, and on the morrow he would talke further with them. The next day when ye factors came againe to the presence of the Basha, according to his appointment, they requested him that he would grant them his privilege, whereby they might traffike safely in any part and place of his countrey, offering him, that if it pleased his Majestie to have any of the commodities that they had brought, and to write his mind thereof to the captaine of Bachu, it should be delivered him accordingly. The Bashas answere was, that he would willingly give them his privilege : yet for that he regarded their safetie, having come so farre, & knowing the state of his countrey to be troublesome, he would have them to bring their commodity thither, & there to make sale of it, promising he would provide such

commodities as they needed, and that he would be a defence unto them, so that they should not be injured by any: wherupon the factors sent Thomas Hudson backe for ye ship to bring her to Derbent, and the Basha sent a gentleman with him to the captaine of Bachu, to certifie him what was determined, which message being done, the captaine of Bachu, and the Bashaes messenger, accompanied with a doozen souldiours, went from Bachu with Thomas Hudson, & came to the ship at Bildih the 11 day of June. After the captaine and his men had beene aboard and seene the ship, they all departed presently, but the gentleman, messenger from ye Basha, with three other Turks, remained aboard, and continued in the ship till she came to Derbent: the latitude of Bildih by divers observations is 40. degrees 25. minuts: the variation of the compasse 10. degrees 40. minuts from North to West. After the returne of Thomas Hudson backe to Bildih, they were constrayned to remaine there with the shippe through contrary windes untill the 16. day of June foure of the clocke in the morning, at which time they weyed anker, set saile and departed thence towards Derbent, and arrived at anker against Derbent East and by South from the sayd castle in foure fathome and a halfe water, the 22. day of June at ten of the clocke in the morning: then they tooke up their ordinance, which before they had stowed in hold for easing the shippe in her rowling. In the afternoone the Basha came downe to the waterside against the shippe, and having the said ordinance placed, and charged, it was all shotte off to gratifie him: and presently after his departure backe, he permitted the factors to come aboard the shippe. The 29. day their goods were unladen and carried to the Bashaes garden, where he made choyce of such things as he liked, taking for custome of every five & twenty karsies, or whatsoever, one, or after the rate of foure for the hundred. The factors after his choyce made, determined to send a part of the rest of the goods to Bachu, for the speedier making sale thereof, for which cause they obtained the Bashaes letter to the captaine of Bachu, written very favourably in their behoofe: and thereupon was laden and sent in a small boat of that countrey in merchandize, to the value (very neere) of one thousand pound sterling: videlicet, one hundreth pieces of karsies, seven broad clothes, two barrels of cochenelio, two barrels of tinne, foure barrels of

shaffe. There went with the same of the companies servants William Winckle, Robert Golding, and Richard Relfe, with two Russies, whereof one was an interpreter, besides foure barkemen. They departed from Derbent with the said barke the 19. of July, and arrived at Bildih the 25. day : their passage and carriage of their goods to Bachu was chargeable, although their sales when they came thither were small : they had great friendship shewed them of the captaine of Bachu, as well for the Bashaes letter, as also for the factors sakes, who had dealt friendly with him, as before is declared. Robert Golding desirous to understand what might be done at Shamaky, which is a daies journey from Bachu, went thither, from whence returning, he was set on by theeves, and was shot into the knee with an arrow, who had very hardly escaped with his life & goods, but that by good hap he killed one of the theeves horses with his caliver, and shot a Turke thorow both cheeks with a dag. On the sixt day of August the factors being advertised at Derbent that their ship was so rotten & weake, that it was doubtfull she would not carry them backe to Astracan, did therupon agree and bargin at that place with an Armenian, whose name was Jacob, for a barke called a Busse, being of burden about 35. tunnes, which came that yere from Astracan, and was at that instant riding at an Island called Zere, about three or foure leagues beyond or to the Eastwardes of Bildih, which barke for their more safety, they ment to have with them in their returne to Astracan, and therupon wrote unto Wincolli and the rest at Bachu, that they should receive the same Busse, and lade in her their goods at Bildih to be returned to Derbent, and to discharge their first boate, which was observed by them accordingly. When all their goods were laden aboard the sayd Busse at Bildih, and being ready to have departed thence for Derbent, there arose a great storme with the winde out of the sea, by force whereof the cables and halsers were broken, and their vessell put a shoare, and broken to pices against the rockes : every of them that were in her saved their lives, and part of the goods. But there was a Carobia or cheste, wherein were dollers, and golde, which they had received for the commodities of the company, which they sold at Bachu, which at the taking out of the Busse, fell by the barkes side into the water amongst the rockes, and so

was lost. The packes of cloth which they could not well take out of the Busse were also lost, other things that were more profitable they saved.

The 18. of August, the Factors received from the Basha 500. Batmans of raw silke, parcell of the bargain made with him, who bade them come the next day for the rest of the bargain.

The 19. day the Factors went to the Basha according to his appointment, but that day they could not speake with him, but it was delivered them as from him, that they should looke and consider whether any thing were due unto him or not, which grieved the Factors: and thereupon M. Turnebull answered, that their heads & all that they had were at the Bashaes pleasure: But then it was answered there was no such matter in it: but that they should cast up their reckonings, to see how it stood betweene them. The 20. day they cast up their reckonings. The 21. they went to have spoken with the Basha, but were denied audience.

The 22. day they heard newes by a Busse that came from Astracan, that Arthur Edwards (whom the Factors left at Astracan with the moietie of the goods) was dead, who departed this life the of

The 23. day the Factors received more from the Basha 500. Batmans of silke. The 4. of September newes was brought to Derbent, that Golding comming from Shamaky was set on by theeves (Turkes) and had hurt one of them.

The 5. Tobias Atkins the gunners boy died of the fluxe, who was buried the 6. day 2. miles to the Southward of the Castle of Derbent, where the Armenian Christians do usually bury their dead. About the 20. of September newes came to Derbent, that the Busse which they had bought of Jacob the Armenian as before, was cast away at Bildih, but they received no certaine newes in writing from any of our people.

The 26. of September was laden aboard the ship 40. bales of silke. From the 26. till the 2. of October, they tooke into the ship, bread, water, and other necessary provision for their sea store: the said 2. day of October, the Factors were commanded upon the suddaine to avoide their house, and get them with their provision out of the towne: Whereupon they were constrained to remove and carry their things to the sea side against the ship, and remained there all the night. The cause of this sudden

avoyding them out of the towne (as afterwards they perceived) was for that the Basha had received newes of a supplie with treasure that the Turke had sent, which was then neare at hand comming toward him.

The 3. day of October all things were brought from the shoare aboard the ship : and that day the Factors went to the Basha to take their leave of him, unto whom they recommended those the Companies servants, &c. which they had sent to Bachu, making accompt to leave them behinde in the Countrey : who caused their names to be written, and promised they should want nothing, nor be injured of any. After this leave taken, the Factors went aboard purposing presently to have set saile and departed towards Astracan, the winde serving well for that purpose at South Southeast : And as they were readie to set saile, there came against the ship a man, who weved : whereupon the boate was sent a shoare to him, who was an Armenian sent from William Wincoll, with his writing tables, whercin the said Wincoll had written briefly, the mishap of the losse of the Busse, and that they were comming from Bildih towards Derbent, they, and such things as they saved with a small boate, forced to put a shoare in a place by the sea side called the Armenian village : Whereupon the Factors caused the shippe to stay, hoping that with the Southerly winde that then blew, they would come from the place they were at to the ship, but if they could not come with that winde, they ment to saile with the shippe, with the next wind that would serve them, against the place where they were, & take them in, if they could : which stay and losse of those Southerly windes, was a cause of great troubles, that they afterwarde sustained through yce, &c. entring the Volga as shalbe declared.

The 4. day the winde South Southeast, the shippe rode still : This day Christopher Burrow was sent to shore to Derbent to provide some necessaries for the voyage, & with him a Tisike or two, which should goe in the shippe passengers to Astracan. And being on shoare he saw there the comming in of the Turkes treasure, being accompanied with 200. souldiers, and one hundreth pioners, besides Captaines and Gentlemen : the Basha with his Captaines and souldiers very gallantly appparelled and furnished went out from Derbent about three or foure miles, to meete the said treasure, and received the same

with great joy and triumph. Treasure was the chiefe thing they needed, for not long before the souldiers were readie to breake into the Court against the Basha for their pay: there was a great mutinie amongst them, because hee had long differred and not payed them their due. The treasure came in seven wagons, and with it were brought tenne pieces of brasse.

In the parts of Media where they were, there was no commoditie to be bought of any value, but raw silke, neither was that to be had but at the Bashaes hands: who shortly after their comming thither taxed the Countrey for that commoditie. His dealing with our Marchants as it was not with equitie in all points according to his bargaine, so it was not extreme ill. Of the commodities they carried hee tooke the chieftest part, for which he gave but a small price in respect of the value it was there worth, and because he had provided such quantitie of commoditie for them, which otherwise they could not have had, the Countrey being so troublesome, and travaile by land so dangerous, he used them at his pleasure.

The newes that was reported unto them at Astracan touching the warres betweene the Turkes & Persians differed litle from the truth: for the Turkes armie with aide of the Crims, (being in number by ye information of two Spaniards that served in those wars, about 200000) invaded and conquered the Countrey of Media in Anno 1577. When the great Turke understood of the conquest, he appointed Osman Basha (the said Basha, and now Captaine of Derbent) governour of the whole Countrey, who settled himselfe in Shamaky the chiefe Citie of Media, and principall place of traffike, unto whom was sent from the great Turke, in signification of the gratefull acceptation of his service and the great conquest, a sword of great value.

After the said Basha had brought the Countrey in order to his liking, and placed garrisons where he thought convenient, the armie was dissolved and sent backe: When the Persians understood that the Turkes armie was dissolved and returned, they gathered a power together, and with the Queene of their Countrey as chiefe, they entred the Countrey of Media, and overranne the same with fire and sword, destroying whatsoever they found, as well people, cattell, as whatsoever els, that might be commodious to the Turkes. And after they had so over-

runne the Countrey, they came to Shamaky, where the said Basha Lieutenant generall of the great Turke was settled, and besieged it: whereupon the Basha seeing hee could not long indure to withstande them, fled thence to Derbent where he now remaineth.

Derbent is a strong Castle which was built by Alexander the great, the situation whereof is such, that the Persians being without Ordinance, are not able to winne it but by famine. When the Turkes were fled from Shamaky, the Persians entred the same and spoyled it, leaving therein neither living creature nor any commoditie, and so returned backe into Persia, and settled themselves about Teveris, where there grewe some question among them for the kingdome. Afterwards the Persians having intelligence of an armie from the Turke comming into Media, gathered themselves together in a great armie and encountring the said Turkes, set upon them on the sudden, and vanquished them, putting them all to the sword. This overthrow of the Turkes grieved the Basha of Derbent, and made him to have the more care for his owne safetie. Moreover, newes was brought unto him that the Kisal Bashaes, (that is to say the nobles and Gentlemen of Persia) were minded to set upon him, and that neere unto Bachu there lay an army readie to besiege it. Whereupon the Basha oftentimes would ride about the Castle of Derbent viewing the same, and the springs that did come to it, and where he saw any cause of reformation, it was amended.

The latitude of Derbent (by divers observations exactly there made) is 41. deg 52. min. The variation of the Compassee at that place about 11. degrees from North to West. From Derbent to Bildih by land 46. leagues. From Derbent to Shamaky by land 45. leagues. From Shamaky to Bachu about 10. leagues, which may be 30. miles. From Bachu to Bildih five or sixe leagues by land, but by water about 12. leagues. From the Castle Derbent Eastwards, there reach two stone wals to the border of the Caspian sea, which is distant one English mile. Those wals are 9. foote thicke, and 28. or 30. foote high, and the space betwene them is 160. Geometricall paces, that is 800. foot. There are yet to be perceived of the ruine of those wals, which do now extend into the sea about halfe a mile: also from the castle Westward into the land, they did perceive the ruines of a stone wall to

extend, which wal, as it is reported, did passe from thence to Pontus Euxinus, and was built by Alexander the great when the castle Derbent was made.

The 5 of October about noone the winde North-northeast they wayed ancre, and set saile from Derbent, being amongst the coast to the Southwards to seeke their men: but as they had sailed about foure leagues the winde scanted Easterly, so that they were forced to ancre in three fathom water.

The 6 day they wayed ancre, and bare further off into the sea, where they ancred in seven fathom water, the ship being very leake, and so rotten abaft the maine mast, that a man with his nailes might scrape thorow her side.

The 7 day about 7 of the clocke in the morning, they set saile, the winde Southwest. They considered the time of the yere was far spent, the ship weake, leake and rotten, and therefore determining not to tary any longer for Wincoll and his fellowes, but to leave them behinde, bent themselves directly towards Astracan: and sailing Northnortheast untill midnight about 16 leagues, the winde then came to the Northnorthwest, and blew much, a very storme, which caused them to take in all their sailes, saving the fore corse, with which they were forced to steere before the sea, South by West, and Southsouthwest. And on the 8 day about two of the clocke in the morning their great boat sunke at the ships sterne, which they were forced to cut from the ship to their great grieve and discomfort: for in her they hoped to save their lives if the ship should have miscaried. About 10 of the clocke before noone they had sight of the land about 5 leagues to the South of Derbent, and bare longst the coast to the Southeastwards unto Nezavoo, where they came at an ancre in three fathoms, and blacke oze, good ancre holde, whereof they were glad, as also that the winde was shifted to the Northwest, and but a meane gale. Wincoll and the rest of his fellowes being in the Armenian village, which is about 18 versts to the Westwards of Nezavoo, the place whereagainst they rode at ancre, saw the ship as she passed by that place, and sent a man in the night following amongst the coast after her, who came against the ship where she rode, and with a firebrand in the top of a tree made signes, which was perceived by them in the shippe, whereupon they hoised out their skiffe, and sent

her ashore to learne what was meant by the fire: which returned a letter from Wincoll, wherein he wrote that they were with such goods as they had at the Armenian village, and prayed that there they might with the same goods be taken into the ships. The 9 day it was litle winde, they wayed and bare a little further off into the sea towards the said village, and ancred. The 10 day they sent their skiffe to the Armenian village to fetch those men and the goods they had, with order that if the winde served, that they could not returne to fetch the ship, they of the ship promised to come for them, against the said village. This day it was calme.

The 11 day the winde Northwest they rode still. The 12 day the winde Southeast they wayed ancre, & bare against & nere to the Armenian village where they ancred, and then the skiffe came aboard and tolde them that our people at shore were like to be spoiled of the Tartars, were it not that the gunners defended them: then was the skiffe sent backe againe to charge them at any hand they should hasten aboard the ship whatsoever it cost them. Whereupon, all the company came aboard the same day saving Richard Relfe and two Russes, but assoone as the skiffe was returned aboard the ship, the winde blew at Southeast, and the sea was growen, so as they were forced to take in their skiffe into the ship, and rode stil till the 13 day, and then being faire weather, early in the morning the skiffe was hoised out of the ship, and sent to shore to fetch the said Relfe and the two Russes, which were ready at the shore side, and with them two Spaniards that were taken captives at the Goletta in Barbary, which served the Turke as souldiers. Those Spaniards (of Christian charity) they brought also aboard the ship to redeeme them from their captivity, which were brought over into England, and set free and at liberty here in London, in September 1581. The winde this day at Northnortheast, faire weather. The 14 day they sent the skiffe to shore, and filled fresh water. The 15 day they rode still, being litle winde and fog. The 16 day the winde Eastsoutheast, they wayed ancre and set saile, bearing Northwards towards Astracan, and the same night they ancred in ten fathoms water, about five miles from the shore of the Shalkaules countrey, which place is eight leagues Nortnorthwest from Derbent. The 17 day the winde at North very stormy, they rode still all that day

and night. The 18 the winde all Southeast about one of the clocke afternoone, they wayed ancre, and sailed thence till foure of the clocke Northnortheast sixe leagues, then they might see the land Northwest about tenne leagues from the winde Southeast: from thence they sailed til midnight Northnortheast twelve leagues. From thence till the 19 day seven a clocke in the morning they sailed Northnortheast eight leagues: the winde then Eastsouth-east, a faire gale, they sounded and had 17 fathoms, and sand, being (as the Master judged) about the head of Shetly: from thence till 12 of the clocke at noone they sailed North 5 leagues, the winde then at East a faire gale, they sounded and had 5 fathoms. From thence till 8 of the clocke at night, they sailed North 7 leagues, the winde then at Northeast with small raine, they tooke in their sailes, and ancred in 3 fathoms water and soft oze, where they rode still all night, and the 20 day and night the winde Northeast, as before with small raine.

The 21 day the winde Northwest, they likewise rode still. The 22 day about 3 of the clocke in the afternoone, they wayed ancre, the winde Westnorthwest, and sailed from thence till sixe of the clocke at night North 4 leagues, then they ancred in 2 fathoms and a halfe soft oze, the winde at West a small breath.

The 23 day about 7 of the clocke in the morning, they wayed ancre, and set saile, being litle winde Easterly, and sailed till 2 of the clocke after noone Northwest in with the shore about sixe leagues, and then ancred in 6 foot water, having perfect sight of the low land (sand hilles) being about 3 miles from the nerest land. This place of the land that they were against, they perceived to be to the Westwards of the 4 Islands (called in the Russe tongue Chetera Bougori) and they found it afterwards by due prooffe, to be about 50 versts, or 30 English miles to the Southwest, or Southwest by South, from the sayd Chetera Bougori.

The 24 day the winde at East, and by South, a Sea winde called Gillavar, caused them to ride still. The 25 day they thought good to send in their skiffe Robert Golding, and certaine Russes, to row him alongst Northwards by the shore, to seeke the foure Islands, and so to passe unto the Uchooge, and there to land the sayd Robert Golding to proceed to Astracan, to deliver Amos Riall a letter, wherein he was required to provide Pavoses

to meet the shippe at the sayd Islands, and the skiffe with the Russes were appointed to returne from the Uchooge with victuals to the shippe, which skiffe departed from the shippe about nine of the clocke in the forenoone. The 26, 27, 28, and 29 dayes, the windes Easterly and North-east, they rode still with their ship. The 30 day the winde Southeast, they wayed, and set saile to the Northeastwards : but the ship fell so on the side to the shorewards, that they were forced eftsoones to take in their saile, and ancre againe, from whence they never removed her. That day they shared their bread : but in their want God sent them two covies of partridges, that came from the shore, and lighted in and about their ships, whereby they were comforted, and one that lay sicke, of whose life was small hope, recovered his health.

The 4 of November the skiffe returned to the ship with some victuals, and certified that the foure Islands were about 60 versts from them to the Northeastwards: When Robert Golding came to Astracan, and delivered there the Factors letters to Amos Rial, the duke, capitaine of that place, was done to understand of the ships arrivall, & of the state they were in, and their request for Pavoses, who was very glad to heare of their safe returne, and appointed to be sent with all speed two Pavoses and a Stroog, with gunners to gard and to defend them. With the which Stroog and Pavoses, Amos Riall went downe to the Chetera Bougori, or 4. Islands aforesayd, where he stayed with those barks, according to the Factors appointment. The 5 day they purposed to send from the ship their skiffe with the carpenter, and 4 Russes to row him to the 4 Bougories, to request Amos Riall to come from thence with the Pavoses to the shippe with all possible speed. The skiffe with those men departed from the ship in the morning, and within one houre they met with a small boat with Russes, rowing towards the ship, which came from the Ouchooge with a wilde swine and other victuals to sell : with the same boat the skiffe returned backe to the ship after the Russes had received and were satisfied for the victuals they brought : the same day they returned with their boat backe toward the Ouchooge, and with them in the same boat was sent the Carpenter of the shippe to the Chetera Bougori, which were in their way, to declare unto Amos Riall the message before appointed him. From the 5 untill the 9 day the ship rode still

with contrary winds Easterly. The same 9 day came to the shippe certaine Russes in a small boat, which brought with them some victuals sent by Amos Riall, and declared that he with the Pavoses and Stroog had remained at the Chetera Bougori five dayes, expecting the comming thither of the ship. The 10 day being doubtfull of the Pavoses comming, they sent Thomas Hudson Master of the ship in the skiffe (and with her went the foresayd skiffe boat) towards the Chetera Bougori to the Pavoses to bring word whether they would come to the ship or not, the wind then at Northeast with fogge. The 11 day the winde Northerly with fogge, the ship rode still. The 12 day Amos Riall, Christopher Fawcet, and a new gunner came to the ship, and with them the M. Thomas Hudson returned; but the Stroog with the gunners remained at the Chetera Bougori; and from thence (when it began to freese) returned to Astracan. Amos Riall declared that he sent the carpenter backe from the Chetera Boogori in a small boat on the 10 day, and marveiled that he was not come to the shippe (but in the fogge the day before as afterwards they learned) missed the shippe, and overshot her, and afterwards returning backe, he found the ship at ancre, and nothing in her but the Russes that were left to keepe her, and then he departed thence, and went to the Uchooge, and there stayed. Presently upon the coming of the Pavoses to the ship they used as much speed as might be, to get the goods out of the shippe into them, and after the goods were laden in, they tooke in also of the shippes ordinance, furniture and provision, as much as they could.

The 13 day in the morning Amos Riall was sent away in a small boat towards Astracan, to provide victuals and cariages to relieve and helpe them, who could passe no further then the foure Islands, but was there overtaken with yce, and forced to leave his boat, and from thence passed poste to Astracan, finding at the Uchooge the Carpenter returned from his ill journey, very ill handled with the extremity of the colde. The same day they departed also in those lighters with the goods towards the Chetera Bougori, leaving the ship at ancre, and in her two Russes, which with three more that went in the Pavoses, to provide victuals for themselves and the rest, & therewith promised to retorne backe to the ship with all speed, had offered to undertake for twenty rubbles in money to

cary the ship into some harborow, where she might safely winter, or els to keepe her where she rode all winter, which was promised to be given them if they did it : and the same day when with those lighters they had gotten sight of the foure Islands being about eight versts South-west from them, the winde then at Northeast, did freese the sea so as they could not row, guide, stirre or remove the said lighters, but as the winde and yce did force them. And so they continued driving with the yce, Southeast into the sea by the space of forty houres, and then being the sixteenth day the yce stood. Whiles they drove with the yce, the dangers which they incurred were great : for oftentimes when the yce with the force of winde and sea did breake, pieces of it were tossed and driven one upon another with great force, terrible to beholde, and the same happened at sometimes so neere unto the lighters, that they expected it would have overwhelmed them to their utter destruction : but God who had preserved them from many perils before, did also save and deliver them then.

Within three or foure dayes after the first standing of the yce, when it was firme and strong, they tooke out all their goods, being fourty and eight bales or packes of raw silke, &c. layde it on the yce, and covered the same with such provisions as they had. Then for want of victuals, &c. they agreed to leave all the goods there upon the yce, and to go to the shore : and thereupon brake up their Chests and Corobias, wherewith, and with such other things as they could get, they made sleddes for every of them to draw upon the yce, whereon they layed their clothes to keepe them warme, and such victuals as they had, and such other things as they might conveniently cary, and so they departed from the sayd goods and Pavoses very earely about one of the clocke in the morning, and travailing on the yce, directed their way North, as neere as they could judge, and the same day about two of the clocke in the afternoone, they had sight of the Chetera Babbas (foure hillocks of Islands so called) unto the same they directed themselves, and there remained that night.

The goods and Pavoses which they left on the yce they judged to be from those Chetera Babbas about 20 versts.

And the next morning departed thence Eastwards, and came to the Chetera Bougeries (or foure Islands before

spoken of) before noone (the distance betweene those places is about 15 versts) where they remained all that night, departing thence towards Astracan: the next morning very early they lost their way through the perswasion of the Russes which were with them, taking too much towards the left hand (contrary to the opinion of M. Hudson) whereby wandering upon the yce foure or five dayes, not knowing whether they were entred into the Crimme Tartars land or not, at length it fortun'd they met with a way that had bene travailed, which crost backwards towards the sea: that way they tooke, and following the same, within two days travaile it brought them to a place called the Crasnoyare (that is to say in the English tongue) Red cliffe, which divers of the company knew.

There they remained that night, having nothing to eat but one loafe of bread, which they happened to finde with the two Russes that were left in the ship 'o keepe her all the Winter (as is aforesaid) whom they chanced to meet going towards Astracan, about five miles before they came to the sayd Crasnoyare, who certified them that the ship was cut in pieces with the yce, and that they had hard scaping with their lives.

In the morning they departed early from Crasnoyare towards the Ouchooge, and about 9 of the clocke before noone, being within 10 versts of the Uchooge, they met Amos Riall, with the carpenter, which he found at Ouchooge, and a gunner newly come out of England, and also 65 horses with so many Cassacks to guide them, and 50 gunners for gard, which brought provision of victuals, &c. and were sent by the Duke to fetch the goods to Astracan. The meeting of that company was much joy unto them.

The factors sent backe with Amos Riall and the sayd company to fetch the goods, Thomas Hudson the Master, Tobias Paris his Mate, and so they the sayd Factors and their company marched on to the Uchooge, where they refreshed themselves that day, and the night following. And from thence proceeded on towards Astracan, where they arrived the last day of November. These that went for the goods after their departure from the Factors travailed the same day untill they came within 10 versts of the Chetera Babbas, where they rested that night. The next morning by the breake of the day they departed

thence, and before noone were at the Chetera Babas, wher they stayed all night; but presently departed thence Thomas Hudson with the Carpenter and gunner to seeke where the goods lay: who found the same; and the next day they returned backe to their company at the Chetera Babbas, and declared unto them in what sort they had found the sayd goods.

The 3 day early in the morning they departed all from the 4 Babbas towards the said goods, and the same day did lade all the goods they could find upon the said sleds, and with all convenient speed returned backe towards Astracan. And when they came to the Chetera Bougori, where they rested the night, in the morning very early before the breake of day, they were assaulted by a great company of the Nagays Tartars horsemen, which came showing and hallowing with a great noise, but our people were so invironed with the sleds, that they durst not enter upon them, but ranne by, and shot their arrowes amongst them, and hurt but one man in the head, who was a Russe, and so departed presently. Yet when it was day, they shewed themselves a good distance off from our men, being a very great troope of them, but did not assault them any more. The same day our men with those cariages, departed from thence towards Astracan, where they arrived in safety the 4 of December, about 3 of the clocke in the afternoone, where our people greatly rejoyced of their great good happe to have escaped so many hard events, troubles and miseries, as they did in that voyage, and had great cause therefore to praise the Almighty, who had so mercifully preserved and delivered them. They remained the Winter at Astracan, where they found great favour and friendship of the duke, captaine, and other chiefe officers of that place: but that Winter there happened no great matter worth the noting.

In the spring of the yeere 1581, about the mids of March, the yce was broken up, and cleare gone before Astracan, and the ninth of Aprill, having all the goods that were returned from the parts of Media, laden into a Stroog, the Factors. William Turnebull, Matthew Taileboyes, Giles Crow, Christopher Burrough, Michael Lane, Laurence Prouse gunner, Randolfe Foxe, Tho. Hudson, Tobias Parris, Morgan Hubblethorne the dier, Rich. the Surgean, Rob. Golding, Joh. Smith, Edw. Reding carpenter, and William Perrin gunner, having also 40

Russes, whereof 36 were Cassacks to row, the rest merchants passengers, departed from Astracan with the sayd Stroog and goods up the Volga towards Yeraslave. They left behinde them at Astracan, with the English goods & merchandise there remaining, Amos Riall, W. Wincoll, and Richard Relfe, and appointed them to sell & barter the same, or so much thereof as they could to the Tisiks, if there came any thither that spring, and to others as they might, & the rest with such as they should take in exchange to returne up to Yeraslave that Summer, when the Emperors carriage should passe up the Volga. The 21 day they came with their Stroog to the Peravolok, but made no stay at that place: for they had beene much troubled with yce in their comming from Astracan. The 3 of May about noone they came to Oveak, and from thence proceeding up the river, on the 17 day William Turnbull departed from the Stroog in a small boat, and went before towards Tetusha to provide victuals, and send downe to the Stroog, from which place they were then about 230 versts. The 23 day they met a boat with victuals, which William Turnbull sent from Tetusha, and the same day they arrived with their Stroog at Tetusha, where they stayed all night, and the next morning betimes departed thence, but W. Turnbull was gone in the small boat before to Cazan, to provide necessaries from thence, and to make way for their dispatch. The 26 day they arrived with their Stroog at Cazan, where they remained till the fourth of June: the Factors sent Giles Crow from Cazan to the Mosco, with their letters the 30 of May. The 4 day of June they departed from Cazan with their Stroog, and arrived at Yeraslave the 22 day about 5 of the clocke in the morning.

The 23 day they provided Telegos, to carry the goods to Vologda. The 24 day having the goods laden upon Telegos, they departed with the same towards Vologda, and remained there five versts from Yeraslave.

The 29 day they came to Vologda, with all their goods in safety, and good order. The same 29, William Turnbull and Peter Garrard departed from Vologda post by water towards Colmogro, the third of July, having their goods laden in a small doshnik, they departed with the same from Vologda towards Rose Island by S. Nicholas, where they arrived in safety the 16 of July, and found there the Agents of Russia, and in the rode

the ships sent out of England, almost laden ready to depart.

The 25 day departed for England (out of the rode of S. Nicholas) the ship Elizabeth.

The 26 day departed thence the Thomas Allen and Mary Susan, and in the Thomas Allen went William Turnbull, Matthew Tailboys, Thomas Hudson, and others. The goods returned of the Persia voyage were laden into the ship, William and John, whereof was Master, William Bigat, and in her with the same goods came Peter Garrard and Tobias Parris.

The 11 of August, the same ship being laden and dispatched departed from the rode of S. Nicholas, and with her in company another of the companies freighted ships, called the Tomasin, whereof was M. Christopher Hall. In their returne homewards they had some foule weather, and were separated at the sea, the William and John put into Newcastle the 24 of September: from whence the sayd Peter Garrard and Tobias Parris came to London by land, and brought newes of the arrivall of the ship.

The 25 of September both the sayd ships arrived at the port of London in safety, and ankered before Limehouse and Wapping, where they were discharged, 1581.

Observations of the latitudes and meridian altitudes of divers places in Russia, from the North to the South : Anno 1581.

Michael Archangel.

Meridian altitude observed at Michael the Archangel, 42. degrees, 30. minuts.

The true latitude, 64. degrees, 54. minuts.

The English house in Colmogro.

The English house in Colmogro, in latitude, 64. d. 25. m.

The meridian altitude there observed, the 29 of July, 42. d. 15. m.

Recola.

Meridian altitude the 30 of July, 41. d. 40. m.

Declination, 16. d. 6. m.

64. d. 20. m.

Yeegris.

Meridian, 4 of August, 41. d. 50. m.

Declination Northerly, 14. d. 49. m.

62. d. 59. m.

Towlma.

Meridian altitude, the 15 of August, 40. d.
45. m.

Declination Northerly, 11. d. 2. m. 60. d. 17. m.

Vologda.

Meridian altitude, the 20 of August, 40. d.

Declination Northerly, 9. d. 17. m. 59. d. 17. m.

Vologda.

Meridian altitude, 21 of August, 39. d. 36. m.

Declination, 8. d. 56. m. 59. d. 20. m.

Yeraslave.

Latitude by gesse, 57. d. 50. m.

Swyoskagorod.

Meridian altitude, 21. September, 31. d.

Declination, 2. d. 56. m. 56. d. 4. m.

Ovslona Monastery.

Meridian altitude, 23. September, 30. d. 26. m.

Declination, 2. d. 56. m. 55. d. 51. m.

Tetuskagorod.

Meridian altitude, 28. September, 28. d. 28. m.

Declination, 5. d. 35. m. 55. d. 22. m.

Oveek.

Meridian altitude, 5. October, 30. d. 12. m.

Declination, 8. d. 18. m. 51. d. 30. m.

Astracan.

Astracan meridian altitude, 22. October, 29. d.
36. m.

Declination, 14. d. 16. m. 46. d. 10. m.

Astracan.

Meridian altitude, 1 of November, 26. d. 35. m.

Declination, 17. d. 16. m. 46. d. 9. m.

Certain directions given by M. Richard Hackluit of the Middle Temple, to M. Morgan Hubblethorne, Dier, sent into Persia, 1579.

I FOR that England hath the best wool & cloth of the world, and for that the clothes of the realme have no good vent, if good dying be not added: therefore it is much to be wished, that the dying of forren countreyes were seene, to the end that the arte of dying may be brought into the Realme in greatest excellency: for thereof will follow honour to the Realme, and great and ample vent of our clothes: and of the vent of clothes, will follow the setting of our poore on worke, in all

degrees of labour in clothing and dying : for which cause most principally you are sent over at the charge of the city : and therefore for the satisfying the lords, and of the expectation of the merchants and of your company, it behooves you to have care to returne home with more knowledge then you caried out.

2 The great dearth of clothes is a great let in the ample vent of clothes, and the price of a cloth, for a fifth, sixth and seventh part riseth by the colour and dying : and therefore to devise to die as good colours with the one halfe of the present price were to the great commodity of the Realme, by saving of great treasure in time to come. And therefore you must have great care to have knowledge of the materials of all the countreys that you shall passe thorow, that may be used in dying, be they hearbs, weeds, barks, gummes, earths, or what els soever.

3 In Persia you shall finde carpets of course thrummed wooll, the best of the world, and excellently coloured : those cities & townes you must repaire to, and you must use meanes to learne all the order of the dying of those thrummes, which are so died as neither raine, wine, nor yet vineger can staine : and if you may attaine to that cunning, you shall not need to feare dying of cloth : For if the colour holde in yarne and thrumme, it will holde much better in cloth.

4 For that in Persia they have great colouring of silks, it behooves you to learne that also, for that cloth dying & silke dying have a certaine affinity, and your merchants mind to bring much raw silke into the Realme, and therefore it is more requisit you learne the same.

5 In Persia there are that staine linnen cloth : it is not amisse you learne it if you can : it hath bene an olde trade in England, whereof some excellent clothes yet remaine : but the arte is now lost, and not to be found in the Realme.

6 They have a cunning in Persia to make in buskins of Spanish leather flowers of many kindes, in most lively colours, and these the Courtiers do weare there : to learne which arte were no harme.

7 If any Dier of China, or of the East parts of the world, be to be found in Persia, acquaint yourselfe with him, and learne what you may of him.

8 You shall finde Anile there, if you can procure the herbe that it is made of, either by seed or by plant, to

cary into England, you may do well to endeavour to enrich your countrey with the same: but withall learne you the making of the Anile, and if you can get the herbe, you may send the same dry into England, for possibly it groweth here already.

9 Returne home with you all the materials and substances that they die withall in Russia, and also in Persia, that your company may see all.

10 In some litle pot in your lodging, I wish you to make daily trials in your arte, as you shall from time to time learne ought among them.

11 Set downe in writing whatsoever you shall learne from day to day, lest you should forget, or lest God should call you to his mercy: and by ech returne I wish you to send in writing whatsoever you have learned, or at the least keepe the same safe in your coffer, that come death or life your countrey may enjoy the thing that you goe for, and not lose the charge, and travell bestowed in this case.

12 Learne you there to fixe and make sure the colour to be given by logge wood: so shall we not need to buy woad so deare, to the enriching of our enemies.

13 Enquire of the price of leckar, and all other things belonging to dying.

14 In any wise set downe in writing a true note from whence every of them doe come, and where, and in what countrey ech of them doth grow, I meane where the naturall place of ech of them is, as how neere to such a city, or to such a sea, or to such a portable river in Russia, Persia, or elsewhere.

15 If before you returne you could procure a singular good workeman in the arte of Turkish carpet making, you should bring the arte into this Realme, and also thereby increase worke to your company.

Commission given by sir Rowland Hayward knight, and George Barne, Aldermen and governours of the company of English Merchants, for discovery of new trades, unto Arthur Pet, and Charles Jackman, for a voyage by them to be made, for discovery of Cathay, 1580. in forme following.

In the Name of God Almightye, and everlasting, Amen. This writing for commission Tripartite, made the twentieth day of May Anno Dom. 1580. and in the 22. yeere of the

reigne of our Sovereigne Lady Elizabeth by the grace of God, Qucene of England, France and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c. Betweene sir Rowland Hayward knight, and George Barne, Aldermen of the Citie of London, and Governours of the company of English Merchants, for discovery of new trades, for the behoofe, and in the name of the said company, on the first partie, and Arthur Pet of Ratcliffe, in the Countie Middlesex, Captaine, Master, and chiefe ruler of the good barke, called the George of London, of the burthen of 40. tunnes, or thereabouts, on the second partie, and Charles Jackman of Popler, in the said Countie of Middlesex, Captaine, Master and ruler of the good barke, called the William of London, of the burthen of 20. tunnes, or thereabouts, (which barkes are now riding at anker in the river of Thames against Limehouse) on the third partie: witnesseth, that the said Governours, and company have hired the saide Arthur Pet, to serve in the said barke, called the George, with nine men and a boy: And likewise the said Charles Jackman, to serve in the said barke, called the William, with five men and a boy, for a voyage by them to be made by Gods grace, for search and discoveries of a passage by sea from hence by Boroughs streights, and the Island Vaigats, Eastwards, to the countreis or dominions of the mightie Prince, the Emperour of Cathay, and in the same unto the Cities of Cambalu and Quinsay, or to either of them.

The which passage (upon authoritie of writers, and great reason) is conceived to bee from the Vaigats Eastwards, according to the description in plat of spirall lines, made by master William Burrough, whereof either of the saide Arthur Pet, and Charles Jackman, have one delivered unto them, and also one other sailing carde, and a blanke plat for either of them. But if it should not be in all points, according to that description, yet we hope that the continent or firme land of Asia doth not stretch it selfe so farre Northwards, but that there may be found a sea passeable by it, betweene the latitude of 70. and 80. degrees. And therefore we have appointed you with these two barkes to make triall of the same: wishing you both to joyne in friendship together, as most deere friends and brothers, to all purposes and effects, to the furtherance and orderly performing of the same voyage. And likewise order your companies, that they of the one

barke may have such love and care, to helpe and succour them of the other, as most deere friends and brothers would doe : so as it may appeare, that though they be two barkes, and two companies, (which is so appointed for your greater comfort and assurance) yet that you are wholly of one minde, and bend your selves to the uttermost of your powers, to performe the thing that you are both employed for.

Doe you observe good order in your dayly service, and pray unto God, so shall you prosper the better.

We would have you to meete often together, to talke, conferre, consult, and agree how, and by what meanes you may best performe this purposed voyage, according to our intents. And at such meeting we thinke it requisite, that you call unto you your mates, and also Nicholas Chanceler, (whom wee doe appoint as merchant, to keepe accompt of the merchandize you shall buy or sell, barter or change) to the ende that whatsoever God should dispose of either of you, yet they may have some instructions and knowledge howe to deale in your place, or places. And of all your assemblies and consultations together, and the substance of matter you shal at every time agree upon, we would have you to note them in the paper bookes that wee give you for that purpose, unto each barke one. We do appoint Arthur Pet in the George, as Admiral, to weare the flagge in the maine top, and Charles Jackman in the William, as Viceadmirall. For good orders to be taken for your good and orderly keeping of company together, which we wish may be such, as you should never lose sight the one of the other, except by both your consents, to discover about an Island, or in some river, when and where you may certainly appoint to meete together againe, wee referre the same to your discretions.

And now for your good direction in this voyage, we would have you with the next good winde and weather, that God shall send thereunto meete and convenient, after the 22. day of this present moneth of May, saile from this river of Thames, to the coast of Finmarke, to the North Cape there, or to the Wardhouse, and from thence direct your course to have sight of Willoughbies land, and from it passe alongst to the Nova Zemla, keeping the same landes alwayes in your sight on your larboordsides (if conveniently you may) to the ende you may discover,

whether the same Willoughbies land be continent and firme land with Nova Zembla, or not: notwithstanding we would not have you to entangle your selves in any Bay, or otherwise, so that it might hinder your speedy proceeding to the Island Vaigats.

And when you come to Vaigats, we would have you to get sight of the maine land of Samoeda, which is over against the South part of the same Island, and from thence with Gods permission, to passe Eastwards alongst the same coast, keeping it alwayes in your sight (if conveniently you may) untill you come to the mouth of the river Ob, and when you come unto it, passe over the said rivers mouth unto the border of land, on the Eastside of the same (without any stay to bee made for searching inwardly in the same river) and being in sight of the same Easterly land, doe you in Gods name proceed alongst by it, from thence Eastwards, keeping the same alwayes on your starboordside in sight, if you may, and follow the tract of it, whether it incline Southerly or Northerly (as at times it may do both) untill you come to the Countrey of Cathay, or the dominion of that mightie Emperour.

And if God prosper your voyage with such good successe, that you may attaine to the same, doe you seeke by all meanes you can to arrive to the Cities Cambalu, and Quinsay, or to the one of them. But if it happen that you cannot conveniently come to either of those places, or shalbe driven to remaine & winter in some other port or place of his dominion, do you seeke by all meanes possible to winne favour and liking of the people, by gifts and friendly demeanes towards them, and not to offer violence, or do wrong to any people or nation whatsoever, but therein to be innocent as doves, yet wilie as serpents, to avoid mischief, and defend you from hurt. And when you shall have gotten friendship through your discreete ordering of your selves, towards the people, doe you learne of them what you can of their Prince, and shewe them one of the Queenes Majesties letters, which she sendeth with you (by either of you one, made of one substance and effect, for ech of you particularly) written in Latine, whereunto her Majestie hath subscribed, and caused her signet seale to be set, the effect of the same letters you have also written in English, for your owne understanding thereof.

The same her Majesties letters you shall procure to

deliver unto the same mightie Prince, or Governour, with some present to be given, such as you shall thinke meete and convenient, using your selves in all points according to the effect of the same letters, and procure againe from the same Prince, his letters accordingly.

And if God so prosper your voyage, that you may this Summer passe the Streights, and compasse about the Northermost land of Asia, unto the countrey of Cathay, or dominion of that mightie Prince, and wintering in it, may obtaine from him his letters of priviledge against the next yeeres spring, you may then after your first setting foorth, search and discover somewhat further then you had discovered before your wintering, so farre as you shall thinke convenient, with regard had, and alwayes provided, that you may returne home hither, to give us advise of your proceedings the same Summer, or before the sharpenes or extremitie of winter overtake you.

And if it happen you cannot this summer attaine to the border of Cathay, and yet find the land beyond the Ob, to stretch it selfe Easterly, with the sea adjoyning unto it navigable, doe you then proceed on your discovery (as before said) alongst the same continent, so farre as you can this summer, having care in the travel to finde out some convenient harborow and place, where you may winter: and when you thinke it convenient, put your selfe to wintering, where if you happen to finde people, you shall deale with them, as we have before advised you to do with the people of Cathay, &c. And if you can learne that they have a prince or chiefe governour, do you procure to deliver unto the same Prince or governour one of the Queenes Majesties letters, as before said, and seeke to obtaine againe his letters accordingly. If you so happen to winter & obtaine letters of priviledge, finding the countrey and people, with the commodities to bee such, that by using trade thither with the people, and for the commodities, it may be beneficial unto us (as we hope you may) the same will be some good liking unto us: notwithstanding we would have you the next summer (by the grace of God) at your first setting out of your wintering harborough, proceed alongst that tract of land to Cathay, if you see likelihood to passe it (for that is the Countrey that we chiefly desire to discover) and seeing you are fully victualed for two yeres and upwards, which you may very

Instructions and notes very necessary and needfull to be observed in the purposed voyage for discovery of Cathay Eastwards, by Arthur Pet, and Charles Jackman : given by M. William Burrough. 1580.

WHEN you come to Orfordnesse, if the winde doe serve you to goe a seabord the sands, doe you set off from thence, and note the time diligently of your being against the saide Nesse, turning then your glasse, whereby you intende to keepe your continuall watch, and apoint such course as you shal thinke good, according as the wind serveth you : and from that time forwards continually (if your ship be lose, under saile, a hull or trie) do you at the end of every 4. glasses at the least (except calme) sound with your dipsin lead, and note diligently what depth you finde, and also the ground. But if it happen by swiftnes of the shippes way, or otherwise, that you cannot get ground, yet note what depth you did prove, and could finde no ground (this note is to be observed all your voyage, as well outwards as homewards.) But when you come upon any coast, or doe finde any sholde banke in the sea, you are then to use your leade oftener, as you shal thinke it requisite, noting diligently the order of your depth, and the deeping and sholding. And so likewise doe you note the depthes into harboroughs, rivers, &c.

And in keeping your dead reckoning, it is very necessary that you doe note at the ende of every foure glasses, what way the shippe hath made (by your best proofes to be used) and howe her way hath bene through the water, considering withall for the sagge of the sea, to leewards, accordingly as you shall finde it growen : and also to note the depth, and what things worth the noting happened in that time, with also the winde upon what point you finde it then, and of what force or strength it is, and what sailes you beare.

But if you should omit to note those things at the end of every foure glasses, I would not have you to let it slip any longer time, then to note it diligently at the end of every watch, or eight glasses at the farthest.

Doe you diligently observe the latitude as often, and in as many places as you may possible, and also the variation of the Compasse (especially when you may bee at shoare upon any land) noting the same observations truely, and

the place and places where, and the time and times when you do the same.

When you come to have sight of any coast or land whatsoever, doe you presently set the same with your sailing Compasse, howe it beares off you, noting your judgement how farre you thinke it from you, drawing also the forme of it in your booke, howe it appeares unto you, noting diligently how the highest or notablest part thereof beareth off you, and the extreames also in sight of the same land at both ends, distinguishing them by letters, A. B. C. &c. Afterwards when you have sailed 1. 2. 3. or 4. glasses (at the most) noting diligently what way your barke hath made, and upon what point of the Compasse, do you againe set that first land seene, or the parts thereof, that you first observed, if you can well perceive or discern them, and likewise such other notable points or signes, upon the land that you may then see, and could not perceive at the first time, distinguishing it also by letters from the other, and drawing in your booke the shape of the same land, as it appeareth unto you, and so the third time, &c.

And also in passing alongst by any and every coast, doe you drawe the maner of biting in of every Bay, and entrance of every harborow or rivers mouth, with the lying out of every point, or headland, (unto the which you may give apt names at your pleasure) and make some marke in drawing the forme and border of the same, where the high cliffs are, and where lowe lande is, whether sande, hils, or woods, or whatsoever, not omitting to note any thing that may be sensible and apparant to you, which may serve to any good purpose. If you carefully with great heede and diligence, note the observations in your booke, as aforesaid, and afterwards make demonstration thereof in your plat, you shall thereby perceive howe farre the land you first sawe, or the parts thereof observed, was then from you, and consequently of all the rest: and also how farre the one part was from the other, and upon what course or point of the Compasse the one lieth from the other.

And when you come upon any coast where you find floods and ebs, doe you diligently note the time of the highest and lowest water in every place, and the slake or still water of full sea, and lowe water, and also which way the flood doeth runne, how the tides doe set, how

much water it hieth, and what force the tide hath to drive a ship in one houre, or in the whole tide, as neere as you can judge it, and what difference in time you finde betwene the running of the flood, and the ebbe. And if you finde upon any coast the currant to runne alwayes one way, doe you also note the same duely, how it setteth in every place, and observe what force it hath to drive a ship in one houre, &c.

Item, as often and when as you may conveniently come upon any land, to make observation for the latitude and variation, &c. doe you also (if you may) with your instrument, for trying of distances, observe the platforme of the place, and of as many things (worth the noting) as you may then conveniently see from time to time. These orders if you diligently observe, you may thereby perfectly set downe in the plats, that I have given you your whole travell, and description of your discovery, which is a thing that will be chiefly expected at your hands. But withall you may not forget to note as much as you can learne, understand or perceiue of the maner of the soile, or fruitfulnessse of every place and countrey you shall come in, and of the maner, shape, attire and disposition of the people, and of the commodities they have, and what they most covet and desire of the commodities you cary with you. It behoveth you to give trifling things unto such people as you shall happen to see, and to offer them all courtesie and friendship you may or can, to winne their love and favour towardses you, not doing or offering them any wrong or hurt. And though you should be offered wrong at their handes, yet not to revenge the same lightly, but by all meanes possible seeke to winne them, yet alwayes dealing wisely and with such circumspection that you keepe your selves out of their dangers.

Thus I beseech God Almighty to blesse you, and prosper your voyage with good and happie successe, and send you safely to returne home againe, to the great joy and rejoycing of the adventurers with you, and all your friends, and our whole countrey, Amen.

Certaine briefe advises given by Master Dee, to Arthur Pet, and Charles Jackman, to bee observed in their Northeasterne discoverie, Anno 1580.

If we reckon from Wardhouse to Colgoieve Island 400. miles for almost 20. degrees difference onely of longitude

very neere East and West, and about the latitude of 70. degrees and two thirde parts: From Colgoieve to Vaigats 200. miles for 10. degrees difference onely in longitude, at 70. degrees of latitude also: From Vaigats to the promontorie Tabin 60. degrees difference of longitude (the whole course, or shortest distance being East and West) in the latitude likewise of 70. degrees, maketh 1200. miles: then is summa totalis from Wardhouse to Tabin 600. leagues, or 1800. English miles. Therefore allowing in a discovery voiage for one day with another but 50. English miles, it is evident that from Wardhouse to Tabin, the course may bee sailed easily in sixe and thirtie dayes: but by Gods helpe it may be finished in much shorter time, both by helpe of winde prosperous, and light continuall for the time requisit thereunto.

When you are past Tabin, or come to the longitude of 142. degrees, as your chart sheweth, or two, three, foure, or five degrees further Easterly, it is probable you shall finde the land on your right hand runne much Southerly and Eastward, in which course you are like either to fall into the mouth of the famous river Oechardes, or some other, which yet I conjecture to passe by the renowned Citie of Cambalu, and the mouth to be in latitude about 50. or 52. degrees, and within 300. or 400. miles of Cambalu it selfe, being in the latitude of 45. degrees Southerly of the saide rivers mouth, or els that you shall trend about the very Northerne and most Easterly point of all Asia, passing by the province Ania, and then to the latitude of 46. degrees, keeping still the land in view on your right hand (as neere as you may with safetie) you may enter into Quinsay haven, being the chiefe citie in the Northern China, as I terme it for distinctions sake, from the other better knownen.

And in or about either or both of these two warme places, you may to great good purpose bee occupied the whole winter, after your arrivall in those quarters, as sometime by sea, sometime in notable fresh rivers, sometime in discreet view and noting downe the situation of the Cities within land, &c. and ever assaying to come by some charts or maps of the countrey, made and printed in Cathay or China, and by some of their bookes likewise for language, &c. You may also have opportunitie to saile over to Japan Island, where you shall finde Christian men, Jesuits of many countreys of Christendome some,

and perhaps some Englishmen, at whose handes you may have great instruction and advise for your affaires in hand.

Notes in writing, besides more privie by mouth, that were given by M. Richard Hakluyt of Eiton in the Countie of Hereford, Esquire, Anno 1580: to M. Arthur Pet, and to M. Charles Jackman, sent by the Merchants of the Moscovie companie for the discovery of the Northeast straight, not altogether unfit for some other enterprises of discovery, hereafter to be taken in hand.

What respect of Islands is to be had, and why.

WHEREAS the Portingals have in their course to their Indies in the Southeast, certaine ports and fortifications to thrust into by the way, to divers great purposes: so you are to see what Islands, and what ports you had neede to have by the way in your course to the Northeast. For which cause I wish you to enter into consideration of the matter, and to note all the Islands, and to set them downe in plat, to two ends: that is to say, That we may devise to take the benefit by them, And also foresee how by them the Savages or civill Princes may in any sort annoy us in our purposed trade that way.

And for that the people to the which we purpose in this voyage to go, be no Christians, it were good that the masse of our commodities were alwayes in our owne disposition, and not at the will of others. Therefore it were good that we did seeke out some small Island in the Scithian sea, where we might plant, fortifie, and staple safely, from whence (as time should serve) wee might feed those heathen nations with our commodities without cloying them, or without venturing our whole masse in the bowels of their countrey.

And to which Island (if neede were, and if wee should thinke so good) wee might allure the Northeast navie, the navie of Cambalu to resort with their commodities to us there planted, and stapling there.

And if such an Island might be found so standing as might shorten our course, and so standing, as that the navie of Cambalu, or other those parties might conveniently saile unto without their dislike in respect of distance, then would it fal out well. For so, besides lesse danger and more safetie, our ships might there unlade and lade

again, and returne the selfe same summer to the ports of England or of Norway.

And if such an Island may be for the stapling of our commodities, to the which they of Cambalu would not saile, yet we might, having ships there, imploy them in passing betweene Cambalu and that stapling place.

• Respect of havens and harborowes.

AND if no such Islands may bee found in the Scithian sea toward the firme of Asia, then are you to search out the ports that be about Nova Zembla, all along the tract of that land, to the end you may winter there the first yeere, if you be let by contrary winds, and to the end that if we may in short time come unto Cambalu, and unlade and set saile againe for returne without venturing there at Cambalu, that you may on your way come as farre in returne as a port about Nova Zembla : that the summer following, you may the sooner be in England for the more speedy vent of your East commodities, and for the speedier discharge of your Mariners : if you cannot go forward and backe in one selfe same Summer.

And touching the tract of the land of Nova Zembla, toward the East out of the circle Arcticke in the more temperate Zone, you are to have regard : for if you finde the soyle planted with people, it is like that in time an ample vent of our warme wollen clothes may be found. And if there be no people at all there to be found, then you shall specially note what plentie of whales, and of other fish is to be found there, to the ende we may turne our newe found land fishing or Island fishing, or our whalefishing that way, for the ayde and comfort of our newe trades to the Northeast to the coasts of Asia.

Respect of fish and certaine other things.

AND if the aire may be found upon that tract temperate, and the soile yeelding wood, water, land and grasse, and the seas fish, then we may plant on that maine the offalls of our people, as the Portingals do in Brasill, and so they may in our fishing in our passage, and divers wayes yeelde commoditie to England by harbouring and victualling us.

And it may be, that the inland there my yeeld masts, pitch, tarre, hempe, and all things for the Navie, as plentifully as Eastland doth.

The Islands to be noted with their commodities and wants.

To note the Islands, whether they be hie land or low land, mountaine or flat, gravelly, clay, chalkie, or of what soile, woody or not woody; with springs and rivers or not, and what wilde beastes they have in the same.

And whether there seeme to be in the same apt matter to build withall, as stone free or rough, and stone to make lime withall, and wood or coale to burne the same withall.

To note the goodnesse or the badnesse of the havens and harborowes in the Islands.

If a straight be found, what is to be done, and what great importance it may be of.

AND if there be a straight in the passage into the Scithian seas, the same is specially and with great regard to be noted, especially if the same straight be narrow and to be kept. I say it is to be noted as a thing that doeth much import: for what prince soever shall be Lorde of the same, and shall possesse the same, as the king of Denmarke doeth possesse the straight of Denmarke, he onely shall have the trade out of these regions into the Northeast parts of the world for himselfe, and for his private profit, or for his subjects onely, or to enjoy wonderfull benefit of the toll of the same, like as the king of Denmarke doth enjoy of his straights, by suffering the merchants of other Princes to passe that way. If any such straight be found, the elevation, the high or lowe land, the havens neere, the length of the straights, and all other such circumstances are to be set downe for many purposes: and al the Mariners in the voyage are to be sworne to keepe close all such things, that other Princes prevent us not of the same, after our returne upon the disclosing of the Mariners, if any such thing should hap.

Which way the Savage may bee made able to purchase our cloth and other their wants.

If you find any Island or maine land populous, and that the same people hath need of cloth, then are you to devise what commodities they have to purchase the same withall.

If they be poore, then are you to consider of the soile,

and how by any possibilitie the same may be made to enrich them, that hereafter they may have something to purchase the cloth withall.

If you enter into any maine by portable river, and shall find any great woods, you are to note what kind of timber they be of, that we may know whether they are for pitch, tarre, mastes, dealeboord, clapboord, or for building of ships or houses, for so, if the people have no use of them, they may be brought perhaps to use.

Not to venture the losse of any one man.

You must have great care to preserve your people, since your number is so small, and not to venture any one man in any wise.

To bring home besides merchandize certaine trifles.

BRING home with you (if you may) from Cambalu or other civil place, one or other yong man, although you leave one for him.

Also the fruities of the Countreys if they will not of themselves dure, drie them and so preserve them.

And bring with you the kernels of peares and apples, and the stones of such stonefruits as you shall find there.

Also the seeds of all strange herbs & flowers, for such seeds of fruits and herbs comming from another part of the world, and so far off, will delight the fansie of many for the strangenesse, and for that the same may grow, and continue the delight long time.

If you arrive at Cambalu or Quinsay, to bring thence the mappe of that countrey, for so shall you have the perfect description, which is to great purpose.

To bring thence some old printed booke, to see whether they have had print there before it was devised in Europe as some write.

To note their force by sea and by land.

IF you arrive in Cambalu or Quinsay, to take a speciall view of their Navie, and to note the force, greatnesse, maner of building of them, the sailes, the tackles, the ankers, the furniture of them, with ordinance, armour, and munition.

Also, to note the force of the wals and bulwarks of their cities, their ordonance, and whether they have any calivers, and what powder and shot.

To note what armour they have.

What swords.

What pikes, halberds and bills.

What horses of force, and what light horses they have.

And so throughout to note the force of the Countrey both by sea and by land.

Things to be marked to make conjectures by.

To take speciall note of their buildings, and of the ornaments of their houses within.

Take a speciall note of their apparell and furniture, and of the substance that the same is made of, of which a Merchant may make a gesse as well of their commoditie, as also of their wants.

To note their Shoppes and Warehouses, and with what commodities they abound, the price also.

To see their Shambles, and to view all such things as are brought into the Markets, for so you shall soone see the commodities, and the maner of the people of the inland, and so give a gesse of many things.

To note their fields of graine, and their trees of fruite, and how they abound or not abound in one and other, and what plenty or scarsitie of fish they have.

Things to be caried with you, whereof more or lesse is to bee caried for a shew of our commodities to be made.

KARSIES of all orient colours, specially of stamell, broadloth of orient colours also.

Frizadoes, Motlies, Bristow friezes, Spanish blankets, Saies of al colours, specially with Stamel, Worstedes, Larels, Saies, Woadmols, Flanel, Rash, &c.

Felts of divers colours.

Taffeta hats.

Deepe caps for Mariners coloured in Stamel, whereof ample vent may be found, it would turne to an infinite commoditie of the common poore people by knitting.

Quilted caps of Levant taffeta of divers colours, for the light.

Knit stocks of silke of orient colours.

Knit stocks of Jerzie yarne of orient colours, whereof if ample vent might folow the poore multitude should be set worke.

Stocks of karsie of divers colours for men and for women.

Garters of silke of severall kinds, and of colours divers.
Girdles of Buffe and all other leather, with gilt and ungilt buckles, specially waste girdles, waste girdles of velvet.

Gloves of all sorts knit, and of leather.

Gloves perfumed.

Points of all sorts of silke, threed, and leather, of all maner of colours.

Shooes of Spanish leather of divers colours, of divers length, cut and uncut.

Shooes of other leather.

Velvet shooes and pantophles.

These shooes and pantophles to be sent this time, rather for a shew then for any other cause.

Purses knit, and of leather.

Nightcaps knit, and other.

A garnish of pewter for a shew of a vent of that English commoditie, bottles, flagons, spoones, &c. of that mettall.

Glasses of English making.

Venice glasses.

Looking glasses for women, great and faire.

Small dials a few for prooffe, although there they will not hold the order they do here.

Spectacles of the common sort.

Others of Christall trimmed with silver, and otherwise.

Hower glasses.	}	{	Combes of boxe.
Combes of Ivorie.			Combes of horne.

Linnen of divers sorts.

Handkerchiefs with silke of severall colours wrought.

Glazen eyes to ride with against dust.

Knives in sheaths both single and double, of good edge.

Needles great and small of every kind.

Buttons greater and smaller, with moulds of leather and not of wood, and such as be durable of double silke, and that of sundry colours.

Boxes with weights for gold, and of every kind of the coine of gold, good and bad, to shew that the people here use weight and measure, which is a certaine shew of wisdom, and of certaine government settled here.

All the severall silver coyne of our English monies, to be caried with you to be shewed to the governours at Cambalu, which is a thing that shall in silence speake to wise men more then you imagine.

Locks and keyes, hinges, bolts, haspes, &c. great and

small of excellent workemanship, whereof if vent may be, hereafter we shall set our subjects in worke, which you must have in great regard. For in finding ample vent of any thing that is to be wrought in this realme, is more worth to our people besides the gaine of the merchant, then Christchurch, Bridewell, the Savoy, and all the Hospitals of England.

For banketting on shipboord persons of credite.

FIRST, the sweetest perfumes to set under hatches to make ye place sweet against their comming aboard, if you arrive at Cambalu, Quinsey, or in any such great citie, & not among Savages.

Marmelade.	}	{ Figs barrelled.
Sucket.		{ Raisins of the sunne.

Comfets of divers kinds made of purpose by him that is most excellent, that shal not dissolve.

Prunes damaske.	}	{ Walnuts.
Dried Peares.		{ Almonds.

Olives to make them taste their wine.

The apple John that dureth two yeeres to make shew of our fruits.

Hullocke.	}	{ Sacke.
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Vials of good, sweet waters, and casting bottels of glasses to besprinkle the ghests withall, after their coming aboard.

Suger to use with their wine if they will.

The sweet oyle of Zante, and excellent French vineger, and a fine kind of Bisket stieped in the same do make a banketting dish, and a little Sugar cast in it cooleth and comforteth, and refresheth the spirits of man.

Cynamon water	}	is to be had with you to make a shew
Imperiall water		of by taste, and also to comfort your sicke in the voyage.

With these and such like, you may banket where you arrive the greater and best persons.

Or with the gift of these Marmelades in small boxes, or small vials of sweet waters you may gratifie by way of gift, or you may make a merchandize of them.

The Mappe of England and of London..

Take with you the mappe of England set out in faire colours, one of the biggest sort I meane, to make shew of your countrey from whence you come.

And also the large Mappe of London to make shew of your Citie. And let the river be drawn full of Ships of all sorts, to make the more shew of your great trade and traffike in trade of merchandize.

Ortelius booke of Mappes.

If you take Ortelius booke of Mappes with you to marke all these Regions, it were not amisse: and if need were, to present the same to the great Can, for it would be to a Prince of marveilous account.

The booke of the attire of all Nations.

Such a booke caried with you and bestowed in gift would be much esteemed, as I perswade my selfe.

Bookes.

If any man will lend you the new Herball and such Bookes as make shew of herbes, plants, trees, fishes, foules and beasts of these regions, it may much delight the great Can, and the nobilitie, and also their merchants to have the view of them: for all things in these partes so much differing from the things of those regions, since they may not be here to see them, by meane of the distance, yet to see those things in a shadow, by this meane will delight them.

The booke of Rates.

TAKE with you the booke of Rates, to the ende you may pricke all those commodities there specified, that you shall chance to find in Cambalu, in Quinsey, or in any part of the East, where you shall chance to be.

Parchment.

Rowles of Parchment, for that we may vent much without hurt to the Realme, and it lieth in small roume.

Glew.

To carie Glew, for that we have plentie and want vent.

Red Oker for Painters.

To seeke vent because we have great mines of it, and have no vent.

Sope of both kindes.

To try what vent it may have, for that we make of both kinds, and may perhaps make more.

Saffron.

To try what vent you may have of Saffron, because this realme yeelds the best of the world, and for the tillage and other labours may set the poore greatly in worke to their reliefe.

Aquavitæ.

By new devises wonderful quantities may be made here, and therefore to seeke the vent.

Blacke Conies skins.

To try the vent at Cambalu, for that it lieth towards the North, and for that we abound with the commoditie, and may spare it.

Threed of all colours.

The vent thereof may set our people in worke.

Copper Spurres and Hawkes bels.

To see the vent for it may set our people in worke.

A note and Caveat for the Merchant.

That before you offer your commodities to sale, you indeavour to learne what commodities the countrey there hath. For if you bring thither velvet, taffeta, spice, or any such commoditie that you your selfe desire to lade your selfe home with, you must not sell yours deare, least hereafter you purchase theirs not so cheape as you would.

Seeds for sale.

Carie with you for that purpose all sorts of garden seeds, as well of sweete strawing herbs and of flowers, as also of pot herbes and all sorts for roots, &c.

Lead of the first melting.

Lead of the second melting of the slags.

To make triall of the vent of Lead of all kinds.

English iron, and wier of iron and copper.

To try the sale of the same.

Brimstone.

To try the vent of the same, because we abound with it made in the Realme.

Antimonie a Minerall.

To see whether they have any ample use there for it, for that we may lade whole navies of it and have no use of it unlesse it be for some small portion in founding of bells, or a litle that the Alcumists use : of this you may have two sortes at the Apothecaries.

Tinder boxes with Steele, Flint & Matches and Tinder, the Matches to be made of Juniper to avoid the offence of Brimstone.

To trie and make the better sale of Brimstone by shewing the use.

Candles of Waxe to light.

A painted Bellowes.

For that perhaps they have not the use of them.

A pot of cast iron.

To try the sale, for that it is a naturall commoditie of this Realme.

All maner of edge tooles.

To be sold there or to the lesse civil people by the way where you shall touch.

What I would have you there to remember.

To note specially what excellent dying they use in these regions, and therefore to note their garments and ornaments of houses : and to see their Die houses and the Materials & Simples that they use about the same, and to bring musters and shewes of the colours and of the materials, for that it may serve this clothing realme to great purpose.

To take with you for your owne use.

All maner of engines to take fish and foule.

To take with you those things that be in perfection of goodnesse.

For as the goodnesse now at the first may make your commodities in credite in time to come : so false and Sophisticate commodities shall drawe you and all your commodities into contempt and ill opinion.

A letter of Gerardus Mercator, written to M. Richard Hakluyt of Oxford, touching the intended discoverie of the Northeast passage, An. 1580.

SIR, I received your letters the 19. of June : it grieved me much that upon the sight of them the time being spent, I could not give any convenient instructions : I wish Arthur Pet had bene informed before his departure of some speciall points. The voyage to Cathaio by the East, is doutlesse very easie and short, and I have oftentimes marvelled, that being so happily begun, it hath bene left of, and the course changed into the West, after that more then halfe of your voiage was discovered. For beyond the Island of Vaigats and Nova Zembla, there foloweth presently a great Baie, which on the left side is inclosed with the mightie promontorie Tabin. Into the mids hereof there fall great rivers, which passing through the whole countrey of Serica, and being as I thinke navigable with great vessels into ye heart of the continent, may be an easie means whereby to traffique for all maner of merchandize, and transport them out of Cathaio, Mangi, Mien, and other kingdoms thereabouts into England. But considering with my selfe that that navigation was not intermitted, but upon great occasion, I thought that the Emperor of Russia and Moscovie had hindered the proceeding thereof. If so be that with his grace and favour a further navigation may be made, I would counsell them certainly not first to seeke out the promontorie Tabin, but to search this baie and rivers aforesayd, and in them to picke and chuse out some convenient port and harborough for the English merchants, from whence afterward with more opportunitie and lesse perill, the promontorie Tabin and all the coast of Cathaio may bee discovered. And that there is such a huge promontorie called Tabin, I am certainly perswaded not onely out of Plinie, but also other writers, and some Maps (though somewhat rudely drawn :) and that the pole of the Loadstone is not farre beyond Tabin, I have learned by the certaine observations of the Loadstone : about which pole and Tabin I thinke there are very many rockes, and very hard and dangerous sailing : and yet a more hard and difficile passage I thinke it to bee this way which is now attempted by the West, for it is neerer to the pole of the Loadstone, to the which I thinke it not safe to approach. And because the Load-

stone hath another pole then that of the world, to the which from all parts it hath a respect, the neerer you come unto it, the more the needle of the Compasse doeth varie from the North, sometimes to the West, and sometimes to the East, according as a man is to the Eastward or to the Westward of that Meridian, that passeth by both the poles of the Magnes and the World.

This is a strange alteration and very apt to deceive the Sailer, unlesse hee know the unconstancie and variation of the Compasse, and take the elevation of the pole sometimes with his instruments. If master Arthur be not well provided in this behalfe, or of such dexteritie, that perceiving the errour he be not able to correct the same, I feare least in wandering up and downe he lose his time, and be overtaken with the ice in the midst of the enterprise. For that gulfe, as they say, is frozen every yere very hard. Which if it be so, the best counsel I could give for their best safetie, were to seeke some harborough in that baie, and those rivers whereof I have spoken, and by some Ambassador to make friendship and acquaintance with the great Can, in name of the Queenes majestie, which I beleeve will be gratefull to the mightiest Emperour in the world, yea most excellent for the length of the traffique, and great distance of the places. I thinke from the mouthes of the mighty rivers Bautisus and Oecharus to Cambalu the chieftest seat of the prince the Can, there are not past 300. Germane miles, and to passe by Ezina a citie of the kingdom of Tangut, which seemeth to be but 100. Germane miles from the mouthes of the sayd rivers, and is subject to the great Can.

I would gladly know how high the sea doeth flowe commonly in the port of Moscovia where your men do harborow, and in other Easterly places unto Tabin. And also whether the sea in this streight do flow alwaies one way to the East or to the West, or whether it do ebbe and flow according to the maner of the tides in the middle of the chanel, that is to say, whether it flow there sixe houres into the West, and as may backe againe to the East, for hereupon depend other speculations of importance. I would wish M. Frobisher to observe the same Westwards. Concerning the gulfe of Merosro and Canada, and new France which are in my mappes, they were taken out of a certaine sea card drawn by a certaine priest out of the description of a Frenchman, a Pilot very skilfull in those

partes, and presented to the worthy prince George of Austria, bishop of Liege : for the trending of the coast, and the elevation of the pole, I doubt not but they are very neere the trueth : For the Charte had, beside a scale of degrees of latitude passing through the midst of it, another particularly annexed to the coast of New France, wherewith the errour of the latitudes committed by reason of the variation of the compasse might be corrected. The historie of the voyage of Jacobus Cnoyen Buschoducensis throughout al Asia, Affrica, and the North, was lent me in time past by a friend of mine at Antwerpe. After I had used it, I restored it againe : after many yeeres I required it againe of my friend, but hee had forgotten of whom hee had borrowed it. The writings of Gulielmus Tripolitanus, and Joannes de Plano Carpini I never saw : onely I found certaine pieces of them in other written hand bookes. I am glad the Epitomie of Abulfada is translated, I would we might have it shortly.

Thus much Sir I thought good to answere your letters : if there bee any thing els that you would require of me, I will most willingly communicate it with you, craving this likewise of your curtesie, that whatsoever observations of both these voyages shall come to your hands, you would impart them to me, they shall all remaine with mee according to your discretion and pleasure, and whatsoever I gather of them, I will faithfully signifie unto you by letters, if happily they may yeeld any helpe or light unto this most excellent enterprise of navigation, and most profitable to our christian common wealth. Fare you well most learned friend. At Duisburg in Cliveland, 28. of Julie, the yeere, 1580.

At Arthur his returne I pray you learne of him the things I have requested, and whether any where in his voiage, he found the sea fresh, or not very salt : for I suppose the Sea betweene Nova Zembla and Tabin to be fresh.

Yours wholly to my power to be commanded,
Gerardus Mercator.

The discoverie made by M. Arthur Pet, and M. Charles Jackman, of the Northeast parts, beyond the Island of Vaigatz, with two Barkes: the one called the George, the other the William, in the yeere 1580. Written by Hugh Smith.

UPON Munday the 30. of May, we departed from Harwich in the afternoone, the winde being at South, and to the Eastward. The ebbe being spent we could not double the pole, and therefore were constrained to put in againe untill the next day in the morning, being the last of May: which day wee wayed our ankers about 3. a clocke in the morning, the wind being West southwest. The same day we passed Orfordnesse at an East Sunne, and Stamford at a West Sunne, and Yarmouth at a West northwest sunne, and so to Winterton, where we did anker al night: it was then calme, and the flood was come.

The next day being the first of June, we set saile at 3. a clocke in the morning, and set our course North, the wind at the Southwest, and at Southsouthwest.

The 10. day about one of the clocke in the afternoone, wee put into Norway to a place where one of the headlands of the sound is called Bottel: the other headland is called Moile. There is also an Island called Kene. Heere I did find the pole to be elevated 62. deg. it doeth flowe there South, and it hieth 7. or 8. foote, not above.

The 11. day in the morning the winde came to the South and to the Southeast: the same day at sixe in the afternoone we set saile, and bare along the coast: it was very foule weather with raine and fogge.

The 22. day the wind being at West, we did hall the coast East northeast, and East. The same day at 6. in the morning we did double the north cape. About 3. in the afternoone wee past Skites beare nesse, and hald along the coast East, and East southeast, and all the same night wee halled Southeast, and Southeast by East.

The 23. day about 3. in the morning we came to Wardhouse, the wind at the Northwest. The cause of our comming in was to seeke the William, whose companie wee lost the 6. day of this moneth, and to send letters into England. About one of the clock in the after noone the William also came into Wardhouse to us in good safetie, and all her company in good health.

The 24. the wind came to the East Northeast. This

day the William was hald a ground, because she was somewhat leake, and to mend her steerage. This night about 12. of the clocke she did hale a flote againe.

The 25. day the wind was at East northeast.

The 26. day the Toby of Harwich departed from Wardhouse for London, Thomas Greene being master, to whom we delivered our letters.

The 27. day the wind was at South southeast, and the 28. also.

The 29. day about 6. in the afternoone, the wind came to the West Northwest for the space of one houre, and presently to the East againe, and so was variable all the same night.

The 30. about sixe in the morning, the winde came to East southeast, and continued so all the same day.

The first of July about 5. in the afternoone, the wind was at Northnorthwest: and about 7. of the clocke we set saile from Wardhouse East and by South.

The second day about 5. in the morning, the wind was East, and East southeast, and we did lie to the shorewards. And about 10. in morning the wind came to South southeast, and we laid it to the Eastward: sometime we lay East by South, sometime East southeast, and sometimes East by North. About 5. in the afternoone we bare with the William, who was willing to goe with Keger, because we thought her to be out of trie, and sailed very ill, where we might mend her steerage: whereupon master Pet not willing to go into harborough said to master Jackman, that if he thought himselfe not able to keepe the sea, he should doe as he thought best, and that he in the meane time would beare with Willoughbies land, for that it was a parcel of our direction, and would meete him at Verove Ostrove, or Vaigats, and so we set our course East northeast, the winde being at Southeast.

The 3. day the winde at Southeast we found the pole to be elevated 70. degrees, 46. minuts. The same night at 12. of the clocke we sounded, but had no ground, in 120 fathoms, being fifty leagues from the one side by our reckoning East northeast from Keger.

The 4. day all the morning was calme. This day we found the pole to be elevated 71. degrees 38. minutes. This day at 9. in the afternoone the wind at Northeast with a gentle gale, we hald along Southeast by East.

The 5. day the wind at Northwest, we hald East and

East by South : this day we saw land, but we could not make it, the wind being Northerly, so that we could not come neere to it.

The 6. day about 2. in the afternoone, the wind at North northwest, we halde East southeast with a faire and gentle gale : this day we met with ice. About 6. in the afternoone it became calme : we with saile and oares laide it to the Northeast part, hoping that way to cleare us of it : for that way we did see the head part of it, as we thought. Which done, about 12. of the clocke at night we gate cleere of it. We did thinke it to be ice of the bay of Saint Nicholas, but it was not as we found afterwards.

The seventh day we met with more yce, at the East part of the other yce : we halde along a weather the yce to finde some ende thereof by East northeast. This day there appeared more land North from us being perfect land : the ice was betweene us and it, so that we could not come neerer to it.

The same morning at sixe of the clocke wee put into the ice to finde some way through it, wee continued in it all the same day and all the night following, the winde by the North Northwest. Wee were constrained to goe many pointes of our compasse, but we went most an Easterly course.

The eight day the winde at North northwest, we continued our course, and at five in the morning we sounded, and had 90. fadoms red oze. This day at foure in the afternoone we sounded againe, and had 84. fadoms oze, as before. At sixe in the after noone we cleared our selves of the ice, and hald along Southeast by South : we sounded againe at 10. a clocke at night, and had 43. fathom sandy oze.

The 9. day at 2. in the morning, we sounded againe, and had 45. fadoms, then there appeared a shadow of land to us East Northeast, and so we ran with it the space of 2. houres, and then perceiving that it was but fogge, we hald along Southeast.

This day at 2. in the afternoone wee sounded and had fiftie fadoms blacke oze. Our latitude was 70. degrees three minutes. At tenne a clocke at night wee sounded againe, and had fiftie fadoms blacke oze.

The tenth day the wind being at North northwest, we haled East and by North, which course we set, because

at ten of the clocke afore noone wee did see land, and then wee sounded having 35. fadoms blacke oze. All this day there was a great fogge, so that wee durst not beare with the land to make it, and so we kept an outwardly course. This day at 6. in the afternoone we espied land, wherewith we hailed, and then it grew calme: we sounded and had 120. fadoms blacke oze: and then we sent our boat a land to sound and prove the land. The same night we came with our ship within an Island, where we rode all the same night. The same night wee went into a bay to ride neere the land for wood and water.

The 11. day the wind came to the East southeast: this day about a league from us to the Eastwards, we saw a very faire sound or river that past very farre into the countrey with 2. or 3. branches with an Island in the midst.

The 12. of July the wind was East Southeast. This day about 11. a clocke in the morning, there came a great white beare down to the water side, and tooke the water of his own accord, we chased him with our boate, but for all that we could doe, he got to land and escaped from us, where we named the bay Bearebay. This day at 7. in the after noone we set saile, for we had good hope that the winde would come Westerly, and with saile and oares we gate the sea. All the night it was calme with fogge.

The 13. day in the morning the wind was very variable with fog, and as it cleared up wee met with great store of ice, which at the first shewed like land. This ice did us much trouble, and the more because of the fog, which continued untill the 14. day, 12. of the clocke.

The 14. day in the morning we were so imbayed with ice, y^t we were constrained to come out as we went in, which was by great good fortune, or rather by the goodnesse of God, otherwise it had bene impossible, and at 12. of the clock we were cleere of it, the wind being at South and South by West. The same day we found the pole to be elevated 70. degrees, 26. minutes: we lay along the coast Northwest, thinking it to be an Island, but finding no end in rowing so long, we supposed it to be the maine of Nova Zembla. About 2. in the afternoone we laide it to the Southward to double the ice, which wee could not doe upon that boorde, so that we cast about againe and lay West along under the ice. About seven in the after-

noone we gote about the greatest part thereof. About 11. a clock at night we brought the ice Southeast of us, and thus we were ridde of this trouble at this time.

The 15. day about 3. in the morning, the wind was at South southwest: wee cast about and lay to the Eastwards: the winde did Wester, so that wee lay South southwest with a flawne sheete, and so we ranne all the same day. About 8. in the after noone we sounded, and had 23. fadoms small grey sand. This night at twelve of the clocke we sounded againe, and had 29. fadoms sand, as afore.

The 16. day unto 3. in the morning we hald along East Southeast, where we found 18. fadoms red sand, then we hald along Northeast. In these soundings we had many overfals. This day at 10. of the clocke we met with more ice, which was very great, so that we could not tell which way to get cleere of it. Then the winde came to the South Southeast, so that we lay to the Northwards. We thought that way to cleere our selves of it, but that way we had more ice. About 6. in the afternoone, the wind came to the East. Then we lay to the Southwards that wee had 30. fadoms blacke oze. This day we found the pole to bee elevated 69. deg. 40. minutes, and this night at 12. a clocke we had 41. fadoms red sand.

The 17. day at 3. in the morning, we had 12. fadoms. At 9. we had 8. and 7. all this day we ran South and South by West, at the depth aforesaid, red sand, being but shallow water. At eight in the afternoone, the winde with a showre and thunder came to the Southwest, and then wee ranne East Northeast. At 12. at night it came to the South and by East, and all this was in the bay of Pechora.

The 18. day at 7. in the morning we bare with the headland of the bay, where wee founde two Islands. There are also overfals of water or tides. We went between the maine and the Island, next to the head, where we had about 2. fadoms and a halfe. We found the pole elevated 69. deg. 13 minutes. This day we had sight of Vaigatz: the land of the maine of Pechora did trend Southeast, we hald East southeast, and had 10. fadoms oze all the same day untill 4. in the after noone, then being calme, we ankered in 10. fadoms all the same night.

The 19. day at two in the morning we set saile, and

ran South and South southwest all the same day at 8. 7. and 6. fadoms, this was off the South part of Vaigatz, this part of the land lieth North and South. This day at 4. in the afternoone we found shallow water sometime 4. fadoms, sometime 3. and 2. and a halfe, and one fadome and a halfe: there we ankered and sent our boate away to sound, and all to leeward we had 4. foote and 3. foote, and 2. foot, there was not water for the boate betweene Vaigatz & the other side: finding no more water, there was no other way but to goe backe as we came in, having the wind Northwest, so at twelve at night we set saile.

The 20. day we plied to the Northwards, and got deepe water againe 6. and 7. fadoms.

The 21. day the winde by the Northwest, we hald along the coast North and North northwest, we had 8. and 9. and 10. fadoms.

The 22. day the winde came to the Southwest, wee bare along the coast of Vaygatz, as wee found it to lie North and by West, and North northwest, and North. The winde blewe very much with great fogge, we lacking water and wood bare within an Island where wee founde great store of wood and water, there were three or foure goodly sounds. Under two points there was a crosse set up, and a man buried at the foote of it. Upon the said crosse, Master Pet did grave his name with the date of our Lorde, and likewise upon a stone at the foote of the crosse, and so did I also, to the end that if the William did chaunce to come thither, they might have knowledge that wee had beene there. At eight in the afternoone the winde came to the North northwest, we set saile and turned out of the Bay. The same night the winde came to the West, so that wee lay North along the land.

The 23. day at five in the morning, the wind came to the Southwest, a Sea boord we sawe a great number of faire Islands, to the number of sixe: a sea boord of these Islands, there are many great overfals, as great streames or tides: we halde Northeast and East northeast as the lande did trend. At eight aforenoone the winde came to the Southeast with very much wind, raine and fogge, and very great store of ice a sea boorde: so we lay to the Southwest to attaine to one of the Islands to harbour us if the weather did so extremely continue, and to take in our boate, thinking it meete so to doe, and not to towe

her in such weather. About twelve of the clocke it became very calme upon the sudden, and came up to the West Northwest, and Northwest by West, and then we tooke in our boate, and this done, there came downe so much winde, as we were not able to steere afore it, with corse and bonnets of each, we hald South with the land, for so the land did trend. This day all the afternoone we sailed under a great land of ice, we sailed betweene the land and it, being not able to crosse it. About twelve at night we found the ice to stretch into the land, that we could not get cleare to the Eastward, so we laide it to the shore, and there we founde it cleare hard aboard the shore, and we found also a very faire Island which makes a very good harbour, and within are 12. fadoms.

This Island is to ye Eastwards of Vaigatz, 4 or 5. leagues. This land of the maine doth trend Southeast and Southeast by East. It is a very faire coast, and even and plaine, and not full of mountaines nor rocks: you have but shallow water of 6. or 7. fadoms, about a league from the shore, all this morning we halled East southeast. This day we found the pole to be elevated 69. degrees 14. minutes. About 12. a clocke we were constrained to put into the ice to seeke some way to get to the Northwards of it, hoping to have some cleare passage that way, but there was nothing but whole ice. About nine in the afternoone we had sight of the William, and when wee sawe her, there was a great land of ice betweene her and us, so that we could not come one to the other, but as we came neere to her, we sounded our trumpet and shot off two muskets, and she put out her flag upon her foretopmaste in token that she did see us: all this time wee did shorten our sailes, and went with our foresaile & mainetopsaile, seeking the best way through the broken ice, she making away the best that she could to follow us, we put out our flagge to answeere her again with the like: thus wee continued all the afternoone till about 12. a clocke at night, and then we moored our ship to a piece of ice to tarie for the William.

The 25. day about five in the morning, the William came to us, being both glad of our meeting. The William had her sterne post broken, that the rudder did hang clean besides the sterne, so that she could in no wise port her helme, with all hands she did lighten her sterne, and trimme her head, and when we had brought her forward

all that we could, wee brought a cable under her sterne, and with our capstaine did wind up her sterne, and so we made it as wel as the place would give us leave, and in the ende wee brought her to steere againe. Wee acknowledge this our meeting to be a great benefite of God for our mutuall comfort, and so gave his majestie thanks for it. All the night after we tooke our rest being made fast upon a piece of ice: the winde was at West Northwest, but wee were so inclosed with ice that we coulede not tell which way to passe. Windes wee have had at will, but ice and fogge too much against our willes, if it had pleased the Lord God otherwise.

The 26. day the wind was at West Northwest: we set saile to the Northwardes, to seeke if we could finde any way cleare to passe to the Eastward, but the further we went that way, the more and thicker was the ice, so that wee coulede goe no further. So about foure in the afternoon we were constrained to moare upon another piece of ice. I thinke we sailed in all a league this day, here we had 15. fadoms oze, and this oze is all the chanell over. All the same day after foure of the clocke, and all the night we tarried there, being without all good hope, but rather in despaire. This day Master Jugman did see land East Northeast from us, as he did thinke, whether it were land or no, I cannot tell well, but it was very like land, but the fogges have many times deceived us.

The 27. day the winde was at Northwest. This day at nine in the morning we set saile to seeke the shore. Further into the ice we could not goe, and at seven in the afternoone we moared to a piece of ice, and the William with us, here we had 14. fathoms oze. At three in the afternoone we warpt from one ice to another. At nine in the afternoone we moared againe to a piece of ice untill the next day. All this night it did snow with much wind, being at West Northwest, and at Northwest, and by West.

The 28. day the winde came to the Southwest, and Southsouthwest: this day was a very faire day. At one in the afternoone master Pet and master Jackman did conferre together what was best to be done considering that the windes were good for us, and we not able to passe for ice, they did agree to seeke to the land againe, and so to Vaygatz, and there to conferre further. At 3. in the afternoone we did warpe from one piece of ice to

another to get from them if it were possible: here were pieces of ice so great, that we could not see beyond them out of the toppe. Thus we warped until 9. in the afternoone, and then we moared both our shippes to a great and high piece of ice, untill the next morning.

The nine and twentie day the winde came to the Southwest, wee set saile at five in the morning to plie into the shore if it were possible, we made many turnes among the ice to small purpose, for with the winde doeth the currant runne. This day by misfortune a piece of ice stroke of our greepe afore at two afternoone, yet for all this we turned to doe our best. The William beeing incumbered with ice, and perceiving that shee did litle good, tooke in all her sailes, and made her selfe fast to a piece of ice, and about foure in the afternoone she set saile to followe us. We were afraide that shee had taken some hurt, but she was well. At seven afore noone we tooke in all our sailes to tarie for the William, and made our shippe fast to a piece of ice: the William before she came to us tooke in all her sailes, and moared to another piece of ice, and thus we continued untill the next morning.

The 30. day the winde at Southeast, and by South, and at 9. in the morning we set saile, and sooner would have done if ye William had bene by us, but we did tary for her to know whether all was well with her: But as soone as we made saile, she did the like. All this day wee did our best to seeke our way as the ice would give us leave, sometime we lay South, sometime West, and sometime East, and thus we continued untill eight at night, and then being calme, wee made our ship fast to a piece of ice, and went to supper. In the meane time the wind with a faire gentle gale came up to the East, and East and by South, but there came downe a showre of raine with it, which continued the space of one houre: Which being done, it became calme againe, so that wee could doe no good all that night, but tooke our rest untill the next day.

The 31. the winde being at Southwest, we set saile to turne to windeward at three a clock in the morning. In this turning we did litle good, for the currant would not give us leave. For as the winde is, so is the currant. We did our best untill ten of the clocke, and then perceiving that we did no good, and being inclosed with ice, wee made our ships fast to a piece of ice: All this day the

William lay still, and did as much good as we that did labour all the forenoone. Thus we took our rest all the same day.

In the afternoone we set saile, the winde being at South & by East, we lay to the Westwards, as Southwest and Southwest and by South, and sometime to the Westward as wee might. Thus we continued until 9. at night, and then we could go no further for ice: so we with the William were constrained to make our ship fast to a piece of ice al the same night. This day we found the pole elevated 69. degrees 20. minutes, and here we had 17. fathoms oze.

The first day of August was verie calme in the morning, the winde beeing at West Northwest. About twelve the winde came to the West, and continued so all the same night with great fogge.

The second day the winde was at Southwest all day with rayne and fogge. All this day wee were inclosed with ice, so that we were forced to lye still. Here we had one and twentie fathoms oze. At sixe in the afternoone the winde was at West with very much foule weather, and so continued all the same night.

The third day the winde was at West, and West by North, and West Northwest, this day we lay still inclosed with yce, the weather beeing darke with fogge: thus abiding the Lords leasure, we continued with patience. And sounding we found 21. fathoms.

The fourth day we lay still inclosed with ice, the winde being at West Northwest, this ice did every day increase upon us, yet putting our trust in God, we hoped to be delivered out of it in good time.

The fift day all the morning it rained with very much wind, being at South Southeast: about 3. in the afternoone we set sayle, and presently it became calme for the space of one houre, then the wind came to the North Northeast, and here we had 33. fathoms: thus we made way among the yce Southwest, and Southsouthwest, & West, as we might finde our way for the space of 3. houres: then we met with a whole land of yce, so that we could go no further: here we moared our ship to tarie for a further opening. Here we found 45. fathoms oze, and all the night was very darke with fogge.

The sixt day having no opening of the yce wee lay still, the winde being at West, and West by South: here

we had sixty three fathoms oze: all the same night the winde was at the West Northwest.

The 7. day the winde was at West, and West and by North all day. And all this day we lay still being inclosed with yce, that we could not stirre, labouring onely to defend the yce as it came upon us. Here we had 68. fathoms oze.

The 8. day was very faire & calme but foggy. This day towards night there was litle winde by the South Southwest: then the yce began a litle to open, and here we had 70. fathoms oze: all the night was foggy.

The 9. day the winde was at Northwest, and by West, all the afternoone we lay still because of the yce, which did still inclose us. This day we found the pole elevated seventy degrees, 4. minutes, we had 63. fathoms oze: this night was a very fayre night, but it freezed: in the morning we had much adoe to goe through the same: and we were in doubt that if it should have freezed so much the night following, we should hardly have passed out of it. This night there was one star that appeared to us.

The tenth day the winde was at East Northeast with a very small gale. Wee with saile and oares made way through the yce: about five in the morning we set saile: sometime wee laye Southwest, and sometime South, and sometime West, as wee might best finde the way. About three in the afternoone the gale began to fresh: about sixe in the afternoone the winde was at Northeast with fogge. Here we had eighty eight fathoms: we bare saile all the same night, and it snowed very much.

The eleventh day we were much troubled with yce, and by great force we made our way through it, which we thought a thing impossible: but extremity doth cause men to doe much, and in the weakenesse of man Gods strength most appeareth. This day we had 95. fathoms. At three in the afternoone the winde came to the Southwest, we were forced to make our shippe fast to a piece of yce, for we were inclosed with it, and taried the Lordes leasure. This night we had 97. fathoms.

The 12. day the wind was at the Southeast not very much but in a maner calme: at a 11. of the clocke the winde came to the West Southwest: all the day was very darke with snowe and fogge. At 6. in the afternoone we set saile the winde being at the North Northeast: all this night we bare away Southwest, and Southsouthwest, as

well and as neere as the yce would give us leave : all this night we found the yce somewhat favourable to us, more then it was before, wherupon we stood in good hope to get out of it.

The 13. day at 7. in the morning, the winde was at the Northeast, and Northeast and by East : all this day we were much troubled with the yce, for with a blow against a piece of yce we brake the stocke of our ancre, and many other great blowes we had against the yce, that it was marveilous that the ship was able to abide them : the side of our boate was broken with our ship which did recule backe, the boate being betwixt a great piece of yce, and the ship, and it perished the head of our rudder. This day was a very hard day with us : at night we found much broken yce, and all this night it blewe very much winde, so that we lay in drift with the yce, & our drift was South, for the winde was at North all this night, and we had great store of snowe.

The 14. day in the morning wee made our shippe fast to a piece of yce, and let her drive with it. In the meane time wee mended our boate and our steerage : all this day the winde continued Northerly, and here wee had threescore and two fathoms. Thus we lay a drift all the same night.

The 15. day we set saile at 6. in the morning, the winde being at Northeast. At 9. aforenoon we entred into a cleare Sea without yce, whereof wee were most glad, and not without great cause, and gave God the praise. We had 19. fathoms water, and ranne in Southwest all the morning untill we came to 14. fathoms, and thence we halled West, til we came to 10. fathoms, and then we went Northwest, for so the land doeth trend. At 12. of the clocke we had sight of the land, which wee might have had sooner, but it was darke and foggie all the same day : for when wee had sight of the lande, wee were not passing three leagues from it. This day we had the pole elevated 69 degrees 49 minutes. All day we ran along the coast in ten and nine fadoms, pepered sand. It is a very goodly coast and a bolde, and faire soundings off it, without sandes or rocks.

The 16 day the winde was at East : this day we were troubled againe with ice, but we made great shift with it : for we gotte betweene the shoare and it. This day at twelve of the clocke we were thwart of the Southeast part of Vaigats, all along which part there was great store of

yce, so that we stood in doubt of passage, yet by much adoe we got betwixt the shoare and it: about 6 in the afternoone was found a great white beare upon a piece of ice: all this day in the afternoone it was darke with fogge. And all the night we haled North and North by West, and sometime North and by East, for so doth the land trend.

The 17 day in the morning we haled West, for so doth the land lie. The wind was at Southeast, and it was very darke with fogge, and in running along the shoare we fell a ground, but God be praised without hurt, for wee came presently off againe. The William came to an anker to stay for us, and sent some of their men to help us, but before they came we were under saile, and as we came to the William we did stowe our boates, and made saile, we went within some of the Islands, and haled Westsouthwest.

About two of the clocke in the afternoone, we set our course Southwest and by South: so we ranne Southwest untill twelve at night, the wind came to the Northnorth-east, and then we haled West.

The 18 day at 6 in the morning we had 16 fadoms red sand: at 6 in the morning 13 fadoms. At 10, 14 fadoms, and we haled Westnorthwest. At 12 a clocke the winde came to the East, and East by South, we haled West and by North all the same day and night. At 6 in the afternoone we had 17 fadoms red sand.

The 19 day the wind was at Eastnortheast: at 6 in the morning wee had 19 fathoms red sand: at 12 of the clocke the wind blew North and North by East, we had 17 fadoms of water, at 3 in the afternoone 15.

The 20 day the wind was at Northeast, and Northnorth-east: at 7 in the morning we had 30 fadomes blacke oze: at twelve of the clocke we were upon the suddaine in shoale water, among great sands, and could find no way out. By sounding and seeking about, we came aground, and so did the William, but we had no hurt, for the wind was off the shoare, and the same night it was calme: all night we did our best, but we could not have her aflote. These shoales doe lie off Colgoyeve: it is very flat a great way off, and it doth not high above 2 or 3 foote water: it floweth Northeast, and Southwest.

The 21 day the wind was at Southwest, and being very faire weather we did lighten our ships as much as was

possible for us to doe, by reason of the place. The same high water, by the helpe of God, we got both a floate, and the wind being at the Southwest did help us, for it caused it to flow the more water.

This day we found the pole to be elevated 68 degrees 40 min. In the afternoone we both set saile to seeke way to get out of these sands, our boate a head sounding, having 6, 7, and 8 fadomes all within the sand which was without us. We bare to the Southward, and the William bare more to the Eastwards, and night being at hand the wind came to the Southeast, whereupon we layd it to the Southwards, lying Southwest, and South and by West, and ran to 19, and 12 and 14 fadoms, and presently we had but sixe fadoms, which was off the sands head, which we were a ground upon the day before. Then we cast about to the Eastwards for deepe water, which we presently had, as 10, 15, and 20 and so to 23 fadoms.

The 22 day at 8 in the morning, we cast about to the Southward, and this day in the morning we saw the William under our lee as far as we could see her, and with a great fogge we lost the sight of her, and since we have not scene her. Thus we ranne till we came to thirtie fadomes blacke oze, which we had at twelve of the clocke, and at three in the afternoone we had twenty and three fadoms, and then we ranne Westnorthwest, and West by North, all the same night following.

The 23 day we had at 6 in the morning 27 fadoms, at 8 a clocke 28 fadoms: at 9 the winde being at Eastsouth-east, we haled Westnorthwest: this day we had sight of the land of Hugri side. At twelve of the clocke we had thirty two fadoms sand. This day we ranne West and by North, and came to five fadoms off the bay of Morzovets. Then we layd it to the Northwards, so that we lay North-northeast off. The wind after came to the North, and North by East, and we lay East and East by North, then we layd it to the Westward againe: and thus we lay till we came to fortie fadoms, and then we went Northwest till wee came to fourteene fadoms, and so to tenne fadoms. Then we cast about to the Eastwards and lay East, and East by North all the same night.

The 24 day at 8 in the morning we had 32 fadoms. We ran Northwest till we came to 11 fadoms, then we lay to the Northwards till 12 at night, and then we came to forty

fadoms, then the wind at Northeast we lay to the Westwards, and haled Northwest along.

The 25 at 4 in the morning we had 37 fadoms, we ranne Northwest, the winde at Northnortheast very much.

The 26 day we ran with the same winde, and found the pole to be elevated 70 deg. 40 min.

The 27 at 7 in the morning we saw land, which we made to be Keger, then we haled Northwest, and North by West to double the North Cape.

The 28 day at 3 in the morning we ran Northwest, and so all day. At night the wind came to the Southwest, and we ran Northwest all that night.

The 29 day we put into a sound called Tane, and the towne is called Hungon: we came to an ancre at 5 in the afternoone, at 25 fadoms very faire sand. This sound is very large and good, and the same night we got water aboard.

The 30 day in the morning the winde at Northeast, and but litle, we set saile, and with our boate on head we got the sea about 12 of the clocke: the wind with a faire gale came to the East Southeast, and all this day and night we ran Westnorthwest.

The 31 day at 12 of the clocke we doubled the North Cape, the wind being at Eastsoutheast, we haled West all the same day, and at night we ran Westsouthwest.

The 1 day of September the wind was at Northeast with very much fogge: all this day we ran Westsouthwest: at 2 in the afternoone the wind came North.

The second day at 3 in the morning we doubled Fowlness, & the wind was this day variable at all parts of the Compasse. In the afternoone we made but litle way: at 6 a clocke the winde came to the Southwest, and we went Northwest. At 9 in the night there came downe so much winde by the Westsouthwest, that we were faine to lay it a hull, we haled it to Northwards for the space of 2 houres, and then we layd her head to the Southwards, and at the breake of day we saw land, which is very high, and is called by the men of the countrey Foulennesse. It is within ful of small Islands, and without full of rocks very farre out, and within the rockes you have fayre sand at 20 fadoms.

The 3 day in the morning we bare with the sound aforesaid: Within it is but shoale water, 4 5 and 3 fadoms, sandie ground, the land is very high, and the Church that

is seene is called Helike Kirke. It doeth high here not above 8 or 9 foote.

The 12 day at 3 in the afternoone, we put into a sound by Lowfoote, where it doeth flowe Southwest, and by South, and doth high 7 or 8 foote water.

The 13 day much wind at West: we had a ledge of rocks in the wind of us, but the road was reasonable good for all Southerly and Westerly winds. We had the maine land in the winde of us: this day was stormie with raine.

The 23 day at foure of the clocke in the afternoone we put into Norway, into a sound called Romesal, where it floweth Southsoutheast, and doth high 8 foote water: this place is full of low Islands, and many good sounds without the high mountaine land. Here is great store of wood growing, as firre, birch, oke, and hasell: all this night the wind was at the South, very much winde, with raine and fogge.

The 28 day in the morning the wind being at Eastnorth-east we set saile at 8 of the clocke, and haled out of the bay Westsouthwest, and Southwest, having a goodly gale untill one of the clocke, and then the wind came to South-east, and to the South with raine and fogge, and very much winde: at sixe of the clocke we came into a very good rede, where we did ride all the same night in good safetie.

The 29 day we put into a good sound, the wind by the Southwest: at three in the afternoone there came downe very much wind by the South, and all night with vehement blastes, and raine.

The 30 day all day the wind was at Westsouthwest. And in this sound the pole is elevated 63 deg. 10 min.

The first day of October the winde was at South with very much winde, and vehement blastes.

The 7 day we set saile: for from the first of this moneth untill this 7 day, we had very foule weather, but specially the fourth day when the wind was so great, that our cables brake with the very storme, and I do not thinke that it is possible that any more wind then that was should blow: for after the breaking of our cable, we did drive a league, before our ankers would take any hold: but God be thanked the storme began to slacke, otherwise we had bene in ill case.

The 7. day at night we came to an anker until the next day, which was the 8 day of the moneth, when as the

winde grew great againe, with raine, whereupon we set saile and returned into the sound againe: and at our first comming to an anker, presently there blew so much winde, that although our best anker was out, yet the extremitie of the storm drove us upon a ledge of rocks, and did bruse our ship in such sort, that we were constrained to lighten her to save her, and by this meanes (by the helpe of God) we got off our ship and stopped our leakes, and moared her in good safetie abiding for a wind. We rid from this day by reason of contrary winds, with fogge and raine untill the 24 day, which day in the morning the wind came to the Northeast, and at 8 of the clocke we set saile. This sound is called Moore sound, where it higheth about 5 foote water, & floweth South-southeast. The next day being the 25 day wee put into a sound which is called Ultar sound, where was a ship of the king of Denmark put into another sound there by, being 2 leagues to the southwards of us, that came out of Island: ye wind was contrary for us at Southsouthwest.

The 12 day of November we set saile the winde being at the East Southeast, and past through the sound where the kings ship did lie: which sound is called Sloure sound. But as we did open the sound, we found the wind at the Southwest, so that we could doe no good, so that we moared our ship betweene 2. Islands until the 18 day, and then the weather being faire and calme, we set saile, & went to sea hoping to find a faire wind, but in the sea we found the wind at the Southwest, and Southsouthwest, so that we were constrained to returne into the same sound.

The next day being the 19 the kings ship came out also, because she saw us put to sea, & came as farre out as we, and moared where we did moare afore: And at our returne backe againe, we moared our ship in an utter sound called Scorpe sound, because the kings ship was without victuals, and we did not greatly desire her company, although they desired ours. In this sound the pole is elevated 62 deg. 47 min. Thus we lay stil for a wind untill the 1 of December, which day we set saile at 6 a clocke in the morning, & at 4 in the afternoone we laid it to the inwards.

The 9 day we had sight of the coast of Scotland which was Buquhamnesse.

The 10 day we were open off the Frith.

The 11 day at 4 in the morning we were thwart of Bar-

wike : at 6 we were thwart of Bamburch : the same day at 10 at night we were shot as farre as Hollyfoote. Then the wind came to the South and Southeast, so that we lay still untill the next day in the morning, and then we were constrained to put with Tinmouth. The same day at night wee haled aground to stoppe a leake, which we found to be in the skarfe afore. The wind continued by the Southeast & Southsoutheast untill the 20 day, and then we set saile about 12 at night, bearing along the coast.

The 22 day by reason of a Southeast wind, we thought we should have bene put into Humber, but the wind came to the West, so that we haled Southeast : and at 3 in the afternoone we haled a sea boord the sands, and had shoale water off Lymery and Owry, and were in 4 fadomes off them. The next day we haled as we might to sease Orfordnesse.

The 24 day we came thwart of the Nase, about 8 in the morning.

The 25 day being the Nativity of Christ, we came to an anker betweene Oldhaven, and Tilberie hope. The same day we turned as high as Porshet.

The 26 day we turned as high as Ratcliffe, and praised God for our safe returne. And thus I ende, 1580.

The William with Charles Jackman arrived at a port in Norway betweene Tronden and Rostock in October 1580. and there did winter : And from thence departed againe in Februarie following, and went in company of a ship of the King of Denmarke toward Island : and since that time he was never heard of.

Instructions made by the company of English merchants for discovery of new trades, unto Richard Gibs, William Biggat, John Backhouse, William Freeman, John Haly, and James Woodcock, &c. masters of the 9 ships, and one barke that we had freighted for a voiage with them to be made (by the grace of God) from hence to S. Nicholas in Russia, and backe againe : which ships being now in the river of Thames are presently ready to depart upon the said voyage, with the next apt winds that may serve thereunto : and with this Fleet afterwards was joined M. Christopher Carlisle with the Tyger. The 1 of June 1582.

FORASMUCH as the number of shippes which we purpose to send in this Fleete together for Saint Nicholas in Russia

is greater then at any time heretofore wee have sent thither, as also for that some speeches are given out that you shall be met withall by such as with force & violence will assault you as enemies, to the end that good order may be established among you for keeping together in company, and uniting your forces, as well for the better direction to be had in your navigation, as also for your more safety and strength against the enemy, we have thought good to appoint among you an Admirall and Viceadmirall, and that all of you and every one particularly shall be bound in the summe of one hundred pounds to keepe company together.

2 Because the Salomon is the biggest ship, best appointed, and of greatest force to defend or offend the enemy, we doe therefore appoint that ship Admirall, which shall weare the flag in the maine top.

3 The Thomas Allen being a good ship and well appointed, and for that the master of her is the ancientest master of the Fleete that hath taken charge that way, we doe appoint the same ship to be Viceadmirall, and to weare the flag in the foretop.

4 And for that the master of the Prudence is of great experience, and knowledge in that voyage, we doe appoint that he with the master of the Admirall and Viceadmirall shall conferre, consult and agree upon the courses and directions that shall be used in this voyage, and it shall be lawfull unto the master of the Admiral, with the consent of M. Gibbs, and M. Biggat, or one of them to make his courses and directions from time to time during the whole voyage, and all the fleete are to follow and observe the same without straying or breaking of company at any time upon the penalty before specified.

5 The appointing of the ships for Admiral and Viceadmiral, and those men to consult and agree upon the courses and directions of the voyage, as aforesaid, hath bene done by the consents and with the liking of you all, and therefore we doubt not but that you will all carefully and willingly observe the premisses.

6 Item, we have thought good to put you in mind, that at such times as you may conveniently from time to time, you do assemble and meete together, to consider, consult, and determine upon such articles as you shall think necessary to be propounded touching your best safety and defence against all forces that may be offered you in this

voyage, as well outwards bound, and while you shall remaine in the roade and bay of S. Nicholas, as also homewardest bound, and that which you shall agree upon, or that which most of you shal consent unto, cause it to be set down in writing for record, which may serve for an aete amongst your selves to binde you all to observe the same.

7 We have appointed James Woodcock in the smal barke to attend upon you, & to receive his directions from you. You are therefore to remember well what conference and talke hath bene had with you here before your going touching ye sayd barke, to what purposes she may best serve, and the maner how to imploy her, and thereupon to give your order and direction unto him, as the time and place shall require.

*8 Item, if you shall understand as you are outwards bound, that the enemie is gone before you to S. Nicholas, remember what advise hath bene given you for your stay at Berozova Ustia, till you have by espials viewed and understood the forces, and the maner of their abode at that place.

9 And if in the sea either outwards or homewards, or in the time of your abode at anker at Saint Nicholas, you shall be assaulted by force of any, as enemie whatsoever, you are to defend your selves with such forces as you may or can: trust not too farre, neither give place to inconvenience.

10 You will not forget what conference we had touching your passing outwards bound by Wardhouse, to view and understand what you can at that place, and to shew your selves, to see if there be any there that have a mind to speake with you, for that we thinke it better then, & thereabout, then afterwards or els where.

11 While you shall remaine in the road at S. Nicholas, be circumspect and carefull to have your ships in readinesse, and in good order alwaies, and upon all suddens. The greatest danger unto you in that place will be while you shall shift your ships: therefore you are to consider of it, but the fittest time for you to doe the same, will bee when the winde is Southerly off the shore, or calme, and at such time you may the better doe it without danger. You must take such order among you, that your companies may be alwaies willing and ready to helpe one the other, and appoint among your selves such ships to shift

first, and such after, in such sort and forme as you shall thinke best and most convenient. And while they shall be in discharging, shifting, and lading, let the rest of your companies which have not then to doe in lading or discharging, helpe those ships that shall have labour to doe, as well for carying the barkes from ships to the shoare, or from shore to the shippe with your boates, as also for any other helpe that they shall have neede of.

12 Remember what hath bene said unto you touching the moring of your ships, &c. for using advantage against the enemye, if you shall be assaulted in that place.

13 See that you serve God, abolish swearing and gaming, be carefull of fire and candles, &c.

14 You are to consult and agree among your selves upon signes, tokens, and good orders for the better keeping of company together, and also the maner how and by what meanes, rescue, ayde, or helpe may be given by one to the other in fight, if you happen to come to it.

Thus we pray God to send you a prosperous voyage and safe returne.

The opinion of Master William Burrough sent to a friend, requiring his judgement for the fittest time of the departure of our ships towards S. Nicholas in Russia.

WHEREAS you request me to perswade the company not to send their shippes from hence before the fine of May, I do not thinke the same so good a course for them to observe: for you know that the sooner wee sende them hence, the sooner we may looke for their returne. If wee sende them in the beginning of May, then may they be at Saint Nicholas by the fine of the same moneth: and by that time the greatest parte of your lading of necessitie must bee come downe, especially the flaxe: but if it should fall out so lateward a breaking up of the river of Duyna, that by the ende of May the goods cannot be brought to Saint Nicholas, yet this is alwayes to be accounted for certaine, that before our ships can come thither, the goods may be brought downe to that place: and if through ice the shippes be kept backe any time, the losse and charge of that time toucheth not the companie at all, but the owners of the shippes, and yet will the Owners put that in adventure, rather then tarie longer time before their going hence.

Now seeing by sending our shippes hence in the begin-

ning of May, their arrivall at S. Nicholas may be at the ende of the same moneth, and remaining thirtie dayes there, they may bee laden and come thence by the last of June, and returne home hither by the 10 of August with commodities to serve the market then, it cannot bee denied but we should reape thereby great commoditie.

But it may be objected, that if all our shippes be sent then to returne as aforesaid, you shall not be able to send us in so much cordage, Waxe and Oyles, as otherwise you should doe if they remained a moneth longer, neither could you by that time perfect your accounts to be sent in them as you would doe.

For answer thereunto this is my meaning: though I wish the greatest part of our shipping to go as aforesaid, yet would I have one good ship or two at the most well furnished in al points that should depart alwaies from hence, betweene the beginning and the 10 day of June: and the same to be conditioned withall to remaine at S. Nicholas from the first arrivall there untill the middest of August, or to be dispatched thence sooner, at the will and liking of our factors for the same: by this order these commodities following may ensue.

1 You may have our commodities there timely to send up the river before it waxe shallow, to be dispersed in the countrey at your pleasure.

2 The greatest part of our goods may be returned hither timely to serve the first markets.

3 Our late ships remaining so long here may serve to good purpose, for returning answeere of such letters as may be sent over land, and received here before their departure.

4 Their remaining so late with you shal satisfie your desire for perfecting your accounts, and may bring such cordage, Waxe, Oile, & other commodities, as you can provide before that time: and chiefly may serve us in stead to bring home our goods that may be sent us from Persia.

Now seeing it may be so many wayes commodious to the company to observe this order, without any charge unto them, I wish that you put to your helping hand to further the same.

A copie of the Commission given to Sir Jerome Bowes, authorizing him her Majesties Ambassadour unto the Emperour of Russia, Anno 1583.

ELIZABETH by the grace of God, Queene of England, France and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c. to al and singular, to whom these presents shal come to be seen and red, greeting. Whereas the most excellent prince John Basiliwich king, and great duke of all Russia, Volodomer, Moscovie, and Novogrod, king of Cazan and Astracan, lord of Plesco, and great duke of Smolensco, of Tuer, Ugor, and Permia, Valca, Bolhar and others, lord great duke of Novogrod in the low country, of Cherniga, Rezan, Polotsco, Rostove, Yeraslave, Bealozera, Liefland, Oudor, Obdor and Condensa, and governour of al the land of Siberia, and of the North parts and other, our most deare brother and friend did of late send unto us one Feodor Andrewich Spisemsky, a noble man of his, to deale with us in certaine speciall businesses, respecting very neerely the honour of either of us, and being such as without the speeding of some Ambassadour of ours to the foresaid most excellent prince, cannot be sufficiently determined and concluded: For this cause we having great confidence in the fidelitie, industrie, provident circumspection and convenient experience of our welbeloved servant Jerome Bowes knight, a gentleman of qualitie of our housholde, do by these presents make and constitute the foresaid Jerome Bowes knight our true & undoubted Ambassadour, Orator and special commissioner, giving and graunting to the same Jerome Bowes knight, our Orator, by the vertue of these presents authoritie and commandement, as wel general as special, so that the special shall not prejudice the generall, nor on the other side the general the special, to intreat, conferre, conclude, and appoint in our name, and for us with the foresaid most excellent prince and his counsellers and deputies whatsoever, concerning the foresaide businesses, and ech of them, according as it shall seeme good, and for our honour to our foresaide Orator, as also of and upon such things intreated, concluded and appointed, as in all and singular other things, any maner of way concerning the premisses, to deliver in our name and for us, sufficient and effectual letters and instruments, and to require letters & instruments of the like validitie and effect

of the other part, and to procure them lawfully to bee made and sealed, and then to receive them, and generally to doe, execute, and dispatch al and singular other things concerning the premisses, in, and after the same maner, as we our selves would and might do if we were present, although they be such things as may seeme of themselves to require a more speciall commandement: promising in good faith and in the word of a prince, that we will hold and observe all and singular the things which by our Ambassador aforesayd shall be appointed, promised, agreed, accorded and concluded in this behalfe, as lawfull, gratefull, and firme, and thereupon as need shall require, will give our letters patents, confirmatory and approbatory, in forme effectuell and autenticall. In witnesse whereof, we have caused our great seale of our kingdome of England to be put to these presents, and signed them with our owne hand.

Given at our pallace of Greenewich the fourth day of June, in the yeere of our Lord 1583, and of our reigne the five and twentieth.

A Letter sent from her Highnesse to the sayd great Duke of Russia, by sir Hierome Bowes aforesayd, her Majesties Ambassadour.

ELIZABETH by the grace of God, Queene of England, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c. to the most excellent Prince and Lord, John Basiliwich, by the same grace of God, King and great Duke of all Russia, Volodomer, Moscovie, and Novogrod, King of Cazan and Astracan, Lord of Plesco, and great Duke of Smolensco, of Tuer, Ugor, and Permie, Viatsca, Bolhar, and others, Lord and great Duke of Novogrod in the lowe countrey, of Cherniga, Rezan, Polotsko, Rostove, Jaroslave, Bealozera, Lifland, Oudor, Obdor, and Condensa, and Governour of all the land of Siberia, and of the North parts and others, her dearest brother and friend, Salutations.

Most excellent Prince, most deare brother and friend, by those things which the worthy ambassador of your excellency declared unto us, we have understood how kindly it would be taken, if we should send to your excellency an ambassador from us, with commandement and instructions. In which matter your honourable request hath so much pleased us, that we could not any

maner of way satisfie our selves, except we performed the same. And having purposed with our selfe so to doe, we thought of, and remembred Jerome Bowes Knight, a gentleman of qualitie of our householde, a man very much beloved of us, whom at this present we send unto your Majesty, and to whose wisdom and faithfulness we have committed all, whatsoever we take to apperteine to the advancement of both our honors indifferently. In the discharge of which service, we doubt not but that all care and diligence shall be used on his part, so that we intreat your Majesty to give him credence in the prosecuting of those things which he hath from us in commandement, no lesse then to our selfe, if we were present. And whereas Robert Jacob doctor of physicke is a man very deare unto us, whom the last yere we sent unto your excellency, we desire that he may have that favor and estimation with you, which good princes thinke a most honest and vertuous man woorthy of: for had we not caried great respect to our mutual friendship, and indeavour to gratifie your Majestie, we should in no case have parted with him. And seeing we continue still the same good will towards your excellency, we doe even promise to our selfe your honourable kindnesses towards him: and we pray the almightie God to preserve your Majesty in good safetie and health. Given at our pallace of Greenwich the 19 day of June, in the yere of our Lord 1583, and of our reigne the five and twentieth.

Your Majesties good sister.

A brieft discourse of the voyage of Sir Jerome Bowes knight, her Majesties ambassadour to Ivan Vasilivich the Emperour of Muscovia, in the yeere 1583.

THE Emperour of Russia that then lived, by name Ivan Vasiliwich, having deliberately considered how necessary it were for the strengthening of his estate, that a sure commerce and entercourse of merchants should be againe renewed betweene him and her sacred Majesty of England, with such further immunities and privileges for the honor and utility of both their dominions, and subjects of the same, as upon mutuall treatie of persons interposed on both sides, might be assented unto: sent over into this realme, in the yeere of our Lord 1582, as his ambassadour for that purpose, an ancient discreet gentleman of his

householde called Pheodor Andrevich Phisemsky, accompanied with one of his Secretaries, for his better assistance in that expedition : and besides his many other directions, whereof part were to be delivered by word of mouth, and the rest set downe in a letter under the Emperours signature, addressed to her Majesty : he had in speciall charge to sollicit her Majesty to send over with him to his maister an ambassador from her, to treat and contract of such affaires of importance as concerned both the realmes, which was the principall end of his imployments hither. Whereupon her Majesty very graciously inclining to the Emperours motion, and at the humble sute of the English merchants trading those countreys being caried with the same princely respects, to satisfie his demands in that behalfe, made choice of sir Jerome Bowes, a gentleman of her Court, ordinarily attending upon her Majesties person, towards whom was apparantly expressed her princely opinion and favor by the credit of this negociation.

After he had received his commission, with other speciall letters to the Emperor, with all other instructions appertaining to his charge, and that the sayd Russe ambassadour was licenced to returne home to his maister, being honorably entertained and rewarded, the English ambassador being attended upon with forty persons at the least, very honourably furnished, whereof many were gentlemen, and one M. Humfrey Cole a learned preacher, tooke his leave of her Majesty at the Court at Greenwich the eighteenth of June, and with the other ambassadour, with their severall companies, embarked themselves at Harwich the two and twentieth of the same, and after a stormy voyage at the Sea, they arrived both in safety in the road of S. Nicholas the three and twentieth of July next following.

The Russe ambassador lodged himselfe at the abbey of S. Nicholas : and the English ambassador was lodged and well intertained by the English merchants, at their house at S. Nicholas, standing in an Island called Rose Island.

The Russe ambassador having reposed himselfe one whole day, tooke his leave of the English ambassador, and departed towards Mosco.

The English ambassadour abode yet at S. Nicholas foure or five dayes, when having made provision of boats, and meanes to that purpose, he went forward upon his

journey towards Mosco, to a towne called Colmogro, about foure score miles distant from S. Nicholas.

You must here understand that before the English ambassadors going into Russia, there were divers strangers, but especially certeine Dutch merchants, who had intruded themselves to trade into those countreys. Notwithstanding a privilege of the sole trade thither was long before granted to the English merchants. These Dutch men had already so handled the matter, as they had by chargeable meanes wonne three of the chieftest counsellors to the Emperour to be their assured friends, namely, Mekita Romanovich, Bodan Belskoy, and Andrew Shalkan the chancellor: for besides dayly gifts that they bestowed upon them all, they tooke so much money of theirs at interest at five and twenty upon the hundred, as they payd to some one of them five thousand marks yeerely for the use of his money, and the English merchants at that time had not one friend in Court.

The ambassador having now spent five weeks at S. Nicholas and at Colmogro, there came to him then a gentleman sent from the Emperor to enterteine him, and had in charge to conduct him up the rivers towards Mosco, and to deliver him provision of all kinde of victuals necessary.

This gentleman being a follower of Shalkan the chancellor, was by him (as it seemed) foisted into that service of purpose, as afterward appeared by the course he tooke, to offer discourtesies, and occasions of mislike to the ambassador: for you must understand that the chancellor and the other two great counsellors (spoken of as friends to the Dutchmen) had a purpose to oppose themselves directly against her Majesties ambassage, especially in that point, for the barring of all strangers from trading into the Emperors countrey.

This gentleman conducted the English ambassador a thousand miles up the rivers of Dwina and Soughana, to a citie called Vologda, where received him another gentleman sent from the Emperor, a man of better countenance then the other, who presented the ambassador from the Emperor with two faire geldings well furnished after their maner.

At a city called Yeraslave upon the river Volga there met the ambassador a duke well accompanied, sent from the Emperor, who presented him from the Emperor a

coach and ten geldings for the more easie conveying of him to Mosco, from whence this citie was distant five hundred miles.

Two miles on this side Mosco there met the ambassador foure gentlemen of good account, accompanied with two hundred horse: who after a litle salutation not familiar, without imbracing, tolde him that they had to say to him from the Emperor, and would have had him light on foot to have heard it, notwithstanding themselves would still have sit on horsebacke: which the ambassador soone refused to doe, and so they stood long upon termes, whether both parties should light or not: which afterwards agreed upon, there was yet great nicenesse whose foot should not be first on ground.

Their message being delivered, and after having embraced ech other, they conducted the sayd ambassador to his lodging at Mosco, a house builded of purpose for him, themselves being placed in the next house to it, as appointed to furnish him of all provisions, and to be used by him upon all other occasions.

The ambassador having beene some dayes in Mosco, and having in all that time bene very honorably used from the Emperor (for such was his will) though some of his chieftest counsellors (as is sayd) had another purpose, and did often times cunningly put it in use: He was sent for to Court, and was accompanied thither with about forty gentlemen honorably mounted, and sumptuously arayed, & in his passage from his lodging to the court, were set in a ward five or sixe thousand shot, that were of the Emperors gard. At the entry into the court there met him foure noble men appavelled in cloth of gold, and rich furies, their caps embroidred with pearle and stone, who conducted him towards the Emperor, till he was met with foure others of greater degree then they, who guided him yet further towards the Emperor, in which passage there stood along the walles, and sate upon benches and fourmes in row, seven or eight hundred persons, said to be noblemen and gentlemen, all appavelled in garments of coloured satins and cloth of golde.

These foure noblemen accompanied him to the Emperors chamber doore, where met him the Emperors herald, whose office is there held great: and with him all the great officers of the Emperors chamber, who all conducted him to the place where the Emperor sate in

his state, having three crownes standing by him, viz. of Moscovia, Cazan, and Astrakan, and also by him 4 yoong noblemen of about twenty yeres of age, of ech side twaine, costly apparelled in white, holding upon their shoulders ech of them a brode axe, much like to a Gallogals axe of Ireland, thin and very sharpe, the steale or handle not past halfe a yard long, and there sate about the chamber upon benches and other low seats, above an hundred noblemen richly apparelled in cloth of golde.

The ambassador being thus brought to the Emperour to kisse his hand, after some complements and inquirie of her Majesties health, he willed him to goe sit downe in a place provided for that purpose, nigh ten pases distant from him, from whence he would have had him to have sent him her Majesties letters and present, which the ambassadour thinking not reasonable stept forward towards the Emperour: in which passage the chancellor came to meet him, and would have taken his letters: to whom the ambassador sayd, that her Majesty had directed no letters to him; and so went on, and delivered them himselfe to the Emperours owne hands.

And after, having thus delivered her Majesties letters and what he had els to say at that time, he was conducted to the Councell chamber, where having had conference with the councell of matters of his ambassage, he was soone after sent for againe to the Emperour, where he dined in his presence at a side table, nere unto him, and all his company at another boord by, where also dined at other tables in the same place, all the chiefe noble men that were about the Court, to the number of an hundred. And in the time of this dinner, the Emperour used many favors to the ambassadour and about the midst of dinner (standing up) dranke a great carouse to the health of the Queene his good sister, and sent him a great bowle full of Rhenish wine and sugar to pledge him.

The ambassadour after this, was often called to Court, where he had conference both with the Emperour and his councell of the matters in question, touching both ambassages, which divers times raised many jarres: and in the end, after sundry meetings, the Emperour finding himselfe not satisfied to his liking, for that the ambassadour had not power by his commission to yeeld to every thing that he thought fit, as a man whose will was seldome wonted to be gainsayd, let loose his passion, and with a sterne

and angry countenance tolde him that he did not reckon the Queene of England to be his fellow: for there are (quoth he) that are her betters.

The ambassadour greatly misliking these speeches, & being very unwilling (how dangerous soever it might proove to his owne person) to give way to the Emperour, to derogate ought from the honour and greatnesse of her Majesty: and finding also that to subject himselfe to the angrie humour and disposition of the Emperour was not the meanes to winne ought at his hands, with like courage and countenance to answere his, tolde him that the Queene his Mistresse was as great a prince as any was in Christendome, equall to him that thought himselfe the greatest, well able to defend herselfe against his malice whosoever, and wanted no meanes to offend any that either shee had, or should have cause to be enemy unto. Yea (quoth he) How sayest thou to the French king, and the king of Spaine? Mary (quoth the ambassadour) I holde the Queene my Mistresse as great as any of them both. Then what sayest thou (quoth hee) to the Emperour of Germany? Such is the greatnesse of the Queene my Mistresse (quoth the ambassadour) as the King her father had (not long since) the Emperour in his pay, in his warres against France.

This answere misliked the Emperour yet so much more, as that he tolde the ambassadour, that were he not an ambassador, he would throw him out of the doores. Whereunto he answered that he might doe his will, for he was now fast within his countrey: but he had a Mistresse who (he doubted not) would be revenged of any injury that should be done unto him. Whereupon the Emperour in great sudden bade him get him home. And he with no more reverence then such usage required, saluted the Emperour, and went his way.

All this notwithstanding, the ambassadour was not much sooner out of the chamber, and the Emperours cholar somewhat settled, but he delivered to his counsell that stood about him many commendations in the favor of the ambassador, for that he would not indure one ill word to be spoken against his Mistresse, and therewithall wished himselfe to have such a servant.

The ambassadour had not beene much more then one houre in his lodging, but the Emperour imagining (as it seemed) by the extraordinary behavior of the ambassador

(for he wanted not wit to judge) that he had found what was the Emperours case, sent his principall secretary unto him, to tell him, that notwithstanding what had past, yet for the great love that he bare to the Queene his sister, he should very shortly be called againe to Court, and have a resolution of all the matters in question: and this Secretary was now further content to impart, and sayd to the ambassadour that the Emperour was fully resolved to send a greater noble man home with him in ambassage to the Queene his sister, then ever he yet at any time sent out of his countrey: and that he determined also to send to the Queene a present woorth three thousand pounds, and to gratifie himselfe at his departure with a gift that should be woorth a thousand pounds: and tolde him also that the next day the Emperour would send a great noble man unto him, to conferre with him of certaine abuses done him by Shalkan the chancellor, and his ministers.

And so the day following he sent Bodan Belskoy the chiefest counsellor that he had, a man most in credit with him: this man examined all matters wherewith the ambassador had found himselfe grieved, and supplied him with what hee wanted, and righted him in all things wherein hee had beene wronged.

Not long after the returne of this noble man, the Emperor caused to be set downe in his owne presence, a new and much larger allowance of diet for the ambassador then he had had before, and shortly after sent the same to the ambassadour by his principall Secretarie Savio Frolo. This diet was so great, as the ambassadour often times sought to have it lessened, but the Emperour would not by any meanes.

The scroule of the new diet was this:

One bushell of fine meale for three dayes.
 One bushell of wheate meale for a day and a halfe.
 Two live geese for one day.
 Twenty hennes for the day.
 Seven sheepe for a day.
 One oxe for three dayes.
 One side of porke for a day.
 Seventie egges for a day.
 Ten pound of butter.
 Seventy peny white loaves of bread.
 Twelve peny loaves of bread.

One veather or gallon of vineger.
 Two veathers of salt cabiges.
 One pecke of onions.
 Ten pound of salt.
 On altine, or sixe peny woorth of waxe candles.
 Two altines of tallow candles.
 One fourth part of a veather of cherrie mead.
 As much of Mallynovomead.
 Halfe a veather of burnt wine.
 One veather of sodden mead called Obarni.
 Three veathers of sweet mead.
 Ten veathers of white mead.
 Fifteene veathers of ordinary mead.
 Foure veathers of sweet beere.
 Fifteene veathers of beere.
 Halfe a pound of pepper.
 Three sollitincks or ounces of saffron.
 One sollitincke of mase.
 One sollitincke of nutmegs.
 Two sollitincks of cloves.
 Three sollitincks of sinamon.
 Provender, { One bushell of oats.
 { One load of hay.
 { One load of straw.

Now he began so much to discover his purpose and affections towards her Majesty & her countrey, as he sent to the ambassador, intreating him that his preacher, and doctor Jacob his English physician, might set downe the points of the religion in use in England, which the ambasadour caused to be done accordingly, and sent them unto him, who seemed so well to like them, as he caused them (with much good allowance) to be publikely read before divers of his counsell, and many others of his nobility.

Now he drew hotly againe in question to marry some kinsewoman of her Majesties, & that he would send againe into England, to have some one of them to wife, and if her Majestie would not upon his next ambassage send him such a one as he required, himselfe would then goe into England, and cary his treasure with him, and marry one of them there.

Here you must understand that the yeere before this ambassage, he had sent to her Majesty by his ambassador to have had the lady Mary Hastings in marriage, which intreaty by meanes of her inability of body, by occasion

of much sicknesse, or perhaps, of no great liking either of herselfe or friends, or both, tooke no place.

The ambassador was now so farre growen into the Emperours favor, & his affection so great to England, as those great counsellers that were the ambassadors great enemies before, were now desirous of some publike courtesies at his hands for their advantage to the Emperour: neither durst they now any more interpose themselves twixt the Emperour and him: for not long before this, the Emperour for abusing the ambassador, had (to shew his favor towards him) beaten Shalkan the chancellor very grievously, and had sent him word, that he would not leave one of his race alive.

Now whilst the ambassador was thus strongly possess'd of the Emperours favor, he imployed himselfe in all he might, not onely for the speedy dispatch of the negotiation he had in hand, but laboured also by all the good meanes he might, further to benefit his countrey and countrey-men, and so not long after wanne at the Emperours hands not onely all those things he had in commission to treat for by his instructions, but also some other of good and great importance, for the benefit of the merchants.

Private sutes obtained of the Emperour by the ambassador. LEAVE for Richard Fransham an English man and apothecary to the Emperour, his wife, and children, to come home into England, and to bring with him all such goods as he had gotten there.

He obtained like leave for Richard Elmes an English man one of the Emperours surgions.

He also got leave for Jane Ricards the widow of Doctor Bomelius a Dutchman, and physician to the Emperour, who for treason practised with the king of Pole against the sayd Emperour, was rosted to death at the city of Mosco, in the yere 1579.

These following he obtained for the behoofe of the merchants.

He procured for the merchants promise of recompense for certaine goods taken from their factors by robbery upon the Volga.

He obtained likewise the payment of five hundred marks, which was payd for ten yeeres before his going

into Russia (into the Emperours receipt) for a rent of a house that they had at Vologda.

He also got granted for them the repayment of fiftene hundred marks, which had bene exacted of them the two last yeres before his comming thither.

He got also for them order for the repayment of an olde and desperate debt of three thousand marks, a debt so desperate, as foure yeres left out of their accounts, and by the opinion of them all, not thought fit to be dealt with, for too much offending the Emperor, or impeaching his other businesse, which was thought at least otherwise sufficient, and was therefore left out of his instructions from her Majesty.

He obtained that all strangers were forbidden to trade any more into Russia, and that the passage and trade to all the Emperours Northren coasts and countries, from the Wardhouse to the river of Ob should be onely free to the English nation.

Lastly, of a great desire he had to do the merchants good, without motion either of themselves here, or their Agents there, or any other of them, he obtained of the Emperour the abatement of all their custome which they had long before payd, and agreed still to continue, which custome the Dutchmen and strangers being remooved, as now it was agreed, amounted to two thousand pounds yerely.

All these were granted, some already payd before his comming from Mosco, the olde privilege ratified, newly written, signed and sealed, and was to be delivered to the ambassadour at his next comming to Court, before when the Emperor fell sicke of a surfet, and so died.

After whose death the case was woondrously altered with the ambassador: for whereas both in his owne conceit, and in all mens opinion els, he was in great forwardnes to have growen a great man with the Emperor, what for the love he bare to her Majesty, and the particular liking he had of himselfe, he now fell into the hands of his great enemies, Mekita Romanovich and Andre Shalkan the chancellor, who, after the death of the Emperour, tooke the speciall government upon themselves, and so presently caused the ambassadour to be shut up a close prisoner in his owne house, for the space of nine weeks, and was so straightly guarded and badly used by those that attended him, as he dayly suspected

some further mischief to have followed: for in this time there grew a great uprore in Mosco of nigh twenty thousand persons, which remembring that his enemies reigned, somewhat amazed the ambassadour, but yet afterwards the matter fell out against that great counsellor Bodan Belskoy, whom I noted before to be a special man in the old Emperors favor: who was now notwithstanding so outrageously assaulted, as that he was forced to seeke the Emperors chamber for his safety, and was afterwards sent away to Cazan, a place he had in government, five hundred miles from Mosco, where he hath remained ever since, and never as yet called againe to court, at which time the ambassador expected some such like measure, and prepared himselfe aswell as he could, for his defence: yet happily after this, was sent for to court, to have his dispatch, and to take his leave of the Emperour: whither being conducted (not after the woonted maner) and brought to the councill chamber, came to him onely Shalkan the chancellor and a brother of his, who without more adoe, tolde him for the summe of his dispatch, that this Emperour would not treat of further amity with the Queene his mistresse, then such as was betweene his late father and her, before his comming thither: and would not heare any reply to be made by the ambassadour, but presently caused both himselfe and all his company to be disarmed of their weapons, and go towards the Emperour. In which passage there were such outrages offered him, as had he not used more patience then his disposition afforded him, or the occasion required, he had not in likelihood escaped with life, but yet at length was brought to the presence of the Emperour, who sayd nothing to him, but what the chancellor had already done, but offered him a letter to carry to her Majesty, which the ambassadour (for that he knew it contained nothing that did concerne his ambassage) refused till he saw his danger grow too great: neither would the Emperour suffer the ambassadour to reply ought, nor well he could, for they had now of purpose taken away his interpretor, being yet unwilling (as it seemed, and suspecting the ambassadours purpose) that the Emperour and other should know how dishonorably he had beene handled: for there was at that time, in that presence a noble brave gentleman, one Boris Pheodorovich Godenoe, brother to the Emperour that now is, who yet after the death of the Emperour

did alwayes use the ambassadour most honorably, and would very willingly have done him much more kinnesse, but his authority was not yet, till the coronation of the Emperor: but notwithstanding he sent often unto him, not long before his departure, and accompanied his many honorable favours with a present of two faire pieces of cloth of golde, and a tymber of very good sables: and desired that as there was kindnesse and brotherhood twixt the Emperor and her Majesty, so there might be love and brotherhood twixt him and the ambassadour. Saving from this man, there was now no more favour nor friendship left for the ambassadour in Moscovia: for the chancellor Shalkan had now sent him word that the English Emperor was dead: he had now nothing offered him but dangers and disgraces too many, and a hasty dispatch from the Mosco, that he might not tary the coronation of the new Emperour: offences many in his preparation for his long journey, onely one meane gentleman appointed to accompany him to the sea side, expecting daily in his passage some sudden revenge to be done upon him, for so he understood it was threatned before his coming from the Mosco, & therefore with resolution provided by all the meanes he might, by himselfe and his servants for his defence (for now was his danger knowen such, as the English merchants did altogether leave him, although he commanded them in her Majesties name to accompany him) that if any such thing should happen to be offered him, as many of them as he could that should offer to execute it, should die with him for company: which being perceived was thought to make his passage the safer. So afterward being driven to digest many injuries by the way, at length he recovered S. Nicholas, where remembring his unfortunate losse of the old Emperor, and his ill usage since then at the Mosco, he being forced to take a bare letter for the summe of his dispatch, conteyning nothing of that he came for, and the poore and disgracefull present sent him (in the name of the Emperour) in respect of that that was meant him by the old Emperor, knowing all these to be done in disgrace of her Majestie and himselfe, determined now to be discharged of some part of them in such sort as he could, and so providing as he might to prevent his danger, in getting to his shippe, furnishing and placing his men to answere any assault

that should be offered him, after he had bidden farewell to the uncourteous gentleman that brought him thither, by three or foure of the valiantest and discreetest men he had, he sent to be delivered him or left at his lodging, his maisters weake letter, and worsse present, and so afterwards happily (though hardly) recovered his ship in safetie, although presently afterwards, there was great hurly burly after him, to force him to receive the same againe, but failed of their purpose. So came the ambassadour from S. Nicholas the twelfth day of August, and arrived at Gravesend the twelfth of September following, and attended her Majestie at the court at Otelands, where, after having kist her Majesties hands, and delivered some part of the successe of his ambassage, he presented her an Elke or Loshe, the Red deere of the cuntry, and also a brace of Raine deare, Buck and Doe, both bearing very huge hornes: they in her Majesties presence drew a sled and a man upon it, after the maner of the Samoeds, a people that inhabite in the Northeast from Russia, and were that yeere come over the sea in the winter season upon the yce, in their sleds, drawen with these deere into Russia, where the ambassadour bought of them seventeene, whereof he brought nine alive into Kent.

The maner of the preferring of sutes in Russia, by the example of our English merchants bill, exhibited to the Emperour.

JOHN BASILIWICH, Lord, King, and great Duke of all Russia, the English merchants, William, sonne of Thomas, with his company sue unto.

Lord, in the 7082. yeere of the worlds creation, thy Majesties treasurer, named Gregorie Mekitowich Borozden, tooke of us for thy use 12. poods of loate sugar, prised at 8. robles the pood, which sugar was sent to the Sloboda. More, the sayd Gregorie treasurer, tooke of us for thy Majestie 200. reames of paper, prised at 20. altines the reame, for all which the money hath not bene payd which amounteth to 216. robles.

And in the 84. yeere thy diake Stephan Lighachdo tooke of us for thy Majesty copper plates, for the summe of 1032. robles and one fourth part unpayd for.

Also in the said 84. yeere thy Majesties diakes called Ivan Blasghoy, and Ivan Sobakin tooke of us for thy

use, sundry commodities, and have not payd 630. robles, the rest of the money due for the said goods.

In the 85. yeere thy Majesties treasurer Peter Gholoven tooke of us for thy Majestie, cloth of sundry sorts, and hath not payd of the money due therefore 538. robles.

In the 88. yeere, thy diakes Andrea Shalkan, and Istomay Yevskoy tooke of us lead for thy Majestie, to the value of 267. robles and a halfe not payd.

And in the same yeere thy Majesties diak Boris Gregorovich had for thy use 15. broad cloths of diverse sorts, prised at 210. robles, whereof 90. robles are unpaid.

Also in the said 88. yere thy diak Andrea Shalkan tooke from us 1000. robles for thee (Lord) in ready money, yet we know not whether by thy Majesties appointment.

And also in the 89. yeere (Lord) thy diak Andrea Shalkan tooke from us for thy Majesty 500. robles, we know not whether by thy Majesties order or no, because that thy authorized people do yeerely take away from us, neither do they give us right in any cause.

All the mony (Lord) which is not payd us out of thy Majesties treasury for our commodities or wares, with the money taken from us by Andrea Shalkan, is 4273. robles 25. altines.

Right noble king and Lord, shew thy mercy, and cause the money to be payd us which is owing for our goods, as also that which hath beene taken from us : extend thy favor, King and Lord.

A letter of M. Henrie Lane to the worshipfull M. William Sanderson, conteining a brieve discourse of that which passed in the Northeast discovery for the space of three and thirtie yeres.

MASTER SANDERSON, as you lately requested mee, so have I sought, and though I cannot finde things that heretofore I kept in writing, and lent out to others, yet perusing at London copies of mine old letters to content one that meaneth to pleasure many, I have briefly and as truly as I may, drawn out as followeth : The rough hewing may be planed at your leasure, or as pleaseth him that shall take the paines.

First the honourable attempt to discover by sea North-east and Northwest named for Cathay, being chiefly procured by priviledge from king Edward the sixt, and other his nobilitie, by and at the cost and sute of M. Sebastian

Cabota, then governor for discoveries with sir Andrew Judde, sir George Barnes, sir William Garrard, M. Anthony Hussie, and a companie of merchants, was in the last yeere of his Majesties reigne 1553. The generall charge whereof was committed to one sir Hugh Willoughbie knight, a goodly Gentleman, accompanied with sufficient number of Pilots, Maisters, Merchants and Mariners, having three shippes well furnished, to wit, The Bona Sperança, the Edward Bonaventure, and the Confidentia. The Edward Bonadventure, Richard Chancellor being Pilot, and Steven Burrough Maister, having discovered Wardhouse upon the coast of Finmark, by storme or fogge departed from the rest, found the bay of S. Nicholas now the chiefe port for Russia, there wintred in safetie, and had ayde of the people at a village called Newnox.

The other two shippes attempting further Northwards (as appeared by pamphlets found after written by sir Hugh Willoughbie) were in September encountred with such extreame colde, that they put backe to seeke a wintring place: and missing the saide baye fell upon a desert coast in Lappia, entring into a River immediately frozen up, since discovered, named Arzina Reça, distant East from a Russian Monastery of Monkes called Pechingho, from whence they never returned, but all to the number of 70. persons perished, which was for want of experience to have made caves and stoves. These were found with the shippes the next Summer Anno 1554. by Russe fishermen: and in Anno 1555. the place sent unto by English Merchants as hereafter appeareth.

Anno 1554. the sayd shippe Edward Bonadventure (although robbed homewardest by Flemings) returned with her company to London, shewing and setting foorth their entertainments and discovery of the countreys even to the citie of Mosco, from whence they brought a privilege written in Russe with the Kings or great Dukes seale, the other two shippes looked for and unknownen to them where they were.

An. 1555. the said company of Merchants for discoverie upon a new supply, sent thither againe with two ships, to wit, the Edward Bonadventure, & another bearing the name of the King and Queene, Philip and Marie, whose Majesties by their letters to the said Moscovite, recommended sundry their subjects then passing, wherof

certaine, to wit, Richard Chancellor, George Killingworth, Henry Lane, and Arthur Edwards, after their arrivall at the Bay, and passing up Dwina to Vologda, went first up to Mosco, where, upon knowledge of the said letters, they with their traine had speciall entertainment, with houses and diet appointed, and shortly, permitted to the princes presence, they were with gentlemen brought through the citie of Mosco, to the castle and palace, replenished with numbers of people, and some gunners. They entred sundry roomes, furnished in shew with ancient grave personages, all in long garments of sundry colours, golde, tissue, baldekin, and violet, as our vestments and copes have bene in England, sutable with caps, jewels, and chaines. These were found to be no courtiers, but ancient Moscovites, inhabitants, and other their merchants of credite, as the maner is, furnished thus from the Wardrobe and Treasurie, waiting and wearing this apparell for the time, and so to restore it.

Then entring into the presence, being a large roome floored with carpets, were men of more estate, and richer shew, in number above an hundred set square: who after the said English men came in, doing reverence, they all stood up, the prince onely sitting, and yet rising at any occasion, when our King and Queenes names were read or spoken. Then after speeches by interpretation, our men kissing his hande, and bidden to dinner, were stayed in another roome, and at dinner brought through, where might be seene massie silver and gilt plate, some like and as bigge as kilderkins, and washbowles, and entring the dining place, being the greater roome, the prince was set bare headed, his crowne and rich cappe standing upon a pinnacle by. Not farre distant sate his Metropolitane, with divers other of his kindred, and chiefe Tartarian Captaines: none sate over against him, or any, at other tables, their backs towards him: which tables all furnished with ghests set, there was for the Englishmen, named by the Russes, Ghosti Carabelski, to wit, strangers or merchants by ship, a table in the middest of the roome, where they were set direct against the prince: and then began the service, brought in by a number of his yoong Lordes and Gentlemen, in such rich attire, as is above specified: and still from the Princes table (notwithstanding their owne furniture) they had his whole messes set over all in massie fine golde, delivered every time from

him by name to them, by their severall Christian names, as they sate, viz. Richard, George, Henry, Arthur. Likewise bread and sundry drinckes of purified mead, made of fine white and clarified honie. At their rising, the prince called them to his table, to receive each one a cup from his hand to drinke, and tooke into his hand Master George Killingworths beard, which reached over the table, & pleasantly delivered it the Metropolitane, who seeming to blesse it, sayd in Russe, this is Gods gift. As in deede at that time it was not onely thicke, broad, and yellow coloured, but in length five foot and two inches of assize. Then taking leave, being night, they were accompanied and followed with a number, carying pots of drinke, and dishes of meat dressed, to our lodging.

This yeere the two shippes, with the dead bodies of Sir Hugh Willoughbie, and his people, were sent unto by Master Killingworth, (which remained there in Mosco Agent almost two yeeres) and much of the goods and victuals were recovered and saved.

Anno 1556. The company sent two ships for Russia, with extraordinary masters and saylers to bring home the two ships, which were frozen in Lappia, in the river of Arzina aforesaid. The two ships sent this yeere from England sailing from Lapland to the Bay of S. Nicholas, tooke in lading with passengers, to wit, a Russe ambassador, named Joseph Napea, and some of his men shipped with Richard Chancellor in the Edward. But so it fel out that the two which came from Lappia, with all their new Masters and Mariners, never were heard of, but in foule weather, and wrought seas, after their two yeeres wintring in Lapland, became, as is supposed, unstash, and sunke, wherein were drowned also divers Russes merchants, and servants of the ambassadour. A third shippe the Edward aforesayd, falling on the North part of Scotland, upon a rocke was also lost, and Master Chancellor, with divers other, drowned. The sayd Russe ambassadour hardly escaping, with other his men, mariners, & some goods saved, were sent for into Scotland, from the King, Queene, and Merchants (the messenger being M. Doctor Laurence Hussie, and others :) And then, as in the chronicles appeareth, honorably entertained and received at London.

This yeere also the company furnished and sent out

a pinnesse, named the Serchthrift, to discover the harborowes in the North coast from Norway to Wardhouse, and so to the Bay of S. Nicholas. There was in her Master and Pilot, Stephen Burrough, with his brother William, and eight other. Their discovery was beyond the Bay, towarde the Samoeds, people dwelling neare the river of Ob, and found a sound or sea with an Island called Vaigats, first by them put into the Carde or Mappe. In that place they threw snowe out of their said pinnesse, with shovels in August, by which extremitie, and lacke of time, they came backe to Russia, and wintred at Colmogro.

Anno 1557. The company with foure good ships, sent backe the said Russe ambassadour, and in company with him, sent as an Agent, for further discovery, Master Anthony Jenkinson, who afterward anno 1558, with great favour of the prince of Moscovia, and his letters passed the river Volga to Cazan, and meaning to seeke Cathay by land, was by many troupes and companies of uncivil Tartarians encountred, and in danger: but keeping company with merchants of Bactria, or Boghar, and Urgeme, travelling with camels, he with his company, went to Boghar, and no further: whose entertainment of the king is to be had of master Jenkinson, which returned anno 1559. to Moscovie. And in anno 1560. he, with Henry Lane, came home into England: which yeere was the first safe returne, without losse or shipwracke, or dead freight, & burnings. And at this time was the first traffike to the Narve in Livonia, which confines with Lituania, & all the dominions of Russia: and the markets, faires, commodities, great townes & rivers, were sent unto by divers servants: the reports were taken by Henry Lane, Agent, and delivered to the companie, 1561. The trade to Rie, and Revel, of old time hath bene long since frequented by our English nation, but this trade to the Narve was hitherto concealed from us by the Danskers and Lubeckers.

Anno 1561. the said Master Anthony Jenkinson went Agent into Russia, who the next yeere after, passing all the river of Volga to Astracan, and over the Caspian sea, arrived in Persia, and opened the trade thither.

Also betweene the yeeres of 1568. and 1573. sundry voyages after Master Jenkinsons, were made by Thomas Alcock, Arthur Edwards, Master Thomas Bannister, and

Master Geffrey Ducket, whose returne (if spoyle neere Volga had not prevented by roving theeves) had altogether salved and recovered the companies (called the olde companies) great losse, charges, and damages: but the saying is true, By unitie small things grow great, & by contention great things become small. This may be understood best by the company. The frowardnesse of some few, and evill doing of some unjust factors, was cause of much of the evill successe.

Arthur Edwards was sent againe 1579. and died in the voyage at Astracan. About which matters, are to be remembred the voyages of Master Thomas Randolph Esquire, Ambassador, anno 1567. And late of Sir Jerome Bowes, anno 1583. both tending and treating for further discoveries, freedoms, and privileges, wherewith I meddle not. But in conclusion, for their paines and adventures this way (as divers do now adayes other wayes) as worthy Gentlemen sent from princes, to doe their countrey good, I put them in your memorie, with my hearty farewell. From S. Magarets neere Dartforth in Kent.

Yours Henry Lane.

The most solemne, and magnificent coronation of Pheodor Ivanowich, Emperour of Russia &c. the tenth of June, in the yeere 1584. scene and observed by Master Jerom Horsey gentleman, and servant to her Majesty, a man of great travell, and long experience in those parts: wherwith is also joyned the course of his journey over land from Mosco to Emden.

WHEN the old Emperour Ivan Vasiliwich died, (being about the eighteenth of Aprill, 1584. after our computacion) in the citie of Mosco, having raigned 54. yeeres, there was some tumult and uprore among some of the nobilitie, and cominaltie, which notwithstanding was quickly pacified. Immediately the same night, the Prince Boris Pheodorowich Godonova, Knez Ivan Pheodorowich, Mesthis Slafsky, Knez Ivan Petrowich Susky, Mekita Romanowich & Bodan Jacovlewich Belskoy, being all noble men, and chieftest in the Emperors Will, especially the Lord Boris, whom he adopted as his third sonne, & was brother to the Emperesse, who was a man very wel liked of al estates, as no lesse worthy for his valure & wisdom: all these were appointed to dispose, & settle his sonne Pheodor Ivanowich, having one sworne another,

and all the nobilitie, and officers whosoever. In the morning ye dead Emperor was layd into the Church of Michael the Archangel, into a hewen sepulcre, very richly decked with vestures fit for such a purpose: and present Proclamation was made, (Emperor Pheodor Ivanowich of all Russia &c.) Throughout all the citie of Mosco was great watch and ward, with souldiers, and gunners, good orders established, and officers placed to subdue the tumulters, and mainteine quietnes: to see what speede and policie was in this case used was a thing worth the beholding. This being done in Mosco, great men of birth and accompt were also presently sent to the bordering Townes, as Smolensko Vobsko, Kasan, Novogorod &c. with fresh garrison, and the old sent up. As upon the 4. of May a parliament was held, wherein were assembled, the Metropolitane, Archbishops, Bishops, Priors, and chiefe clergie men, and all the nobility whatsoever: where many matters were determind not pertinent to my purpose, yet all tended to a new reformation in the government: but especially the terme, and time was agreed upon for the solemnizing of the new Emperors coronation. In the meane time ye Empresse, wife to the old Emperor, was with her child the Emperors sonne, Charlewich Demetrie Ivanowich, of one yeres age or thereabouts, sent with her father Pheodor Pheodorowich Nagay, & that kindred, being 5. Brothers, to a towne called Ouglets, which was given unto her, and the young Prince her sonne, with all the lands belonging to it in the shire, with officers of all sortes appointed, having allowance of apparell, jewels, diet, horse &c. in ample maner belonging to the estate of a princesse. The time of mourning after their use being expired, called Sorachyn, or fortie orderlie dayes, the day of the solemnizing of this coronation, with great preparations, was come, being upon the 10. day of June, 1584. and that day then Sunday, he being of the age of 25. yeeres: at which time, Master Jerom Horsey was orderly sent for, and placed in a fit roome to see all the solemnitie. The Emperor comming out of his Pallace, there went before him, the Metropolitan, Archbishops, Bishops, and chiefest Monkes, and Clergie men, with very rich Copes, and Priestes garments upon them, carying pictures of our Ladie &c. with the Emperours Angell, banners, censers, and many other such ceremonious things, singing all the way. The

Emperour with his nobilitie in order entred the Church named Blaveshina, or Blessednes, where prayers, and service were used, according to the maner of their Church: that done, they went thence to the Church, called Michael the Archangell, and there also used the like prayers, and service: and from thence to our Lady Church, Prechista, being their Cathedrall Church. In the middest thereof was a chaire of majestie placed, wherein his Auncestors used to sit at such extraordinarie times: his robes were then changed, and most rich and unvaluable garments put on him: being placed in this Princely seate, his nobility standing round about him in their degrees, his imperiall Crowne was set upon his head by the Metropolitane, his Scepter globe in his right hand, his sword of Justice in his left of great riches: his 6. Crownes also, by which he holdeth his kingdomes were set before him, and the Lord Boris Pheodorowich was placed at his right hand: then the Metropolitan read openly a booke of a small volume, with exhortations to the Emperour to minister true Justice, to injoy with tranquillitie the Crowne of his auncestors, which God had given him, and used these words following.

Through the will of the almighty & without beginning God, which was before this world, whom we glorifie in the Trinitie, one onely God, the Father, the Sonne, and the holy Ghost, maker of all things, worker of all in all every where, fulfiller of all things, by which will, and working, he both liveth, and giveth life to man: that our only God which enspireth every one of us his only children with his word to discern God through our Lord Jesus Christ, and the holy quickning spirit of life, now in these perilous times establish us to keep the right Scepter, and suffer us to raigne of our selves to the good profit of the land, to the subduing of the people, together with the enemies, & the maintenance of vertue. And so the Metropolitan blessed and layd his crosse upon him. After this, he was taken out of his chaire of Majestie, having upon him an upper robe adorned with precious stones of all sorts, orient pearles of great quantitie, but alwayes augmented in riches: it was in waight two hundred pounds, the traine, and parts thereof borne up by 6. Dukes, his chiefe imperiall Crowne upon his head very precious: his staffe imperiall in his right hand of an unicornes horne of three foot and a halfe in length beset with rich stones,

bought of Merchants of Ausburge by the old Emperour in An. 1581, and cost him 7000. Markes sterling. This Jewel M. Horsey kept sometimes, before the Emperor had it. His scepter globe was caried before him by the prince Boris Pheodorowich, his rich cap beset with rich stones and pearles was caried before him by a Duke: his 6. Crownes also were caried by Demetrius Ivanowich Godonova, the Emperors uncle, Mekita Romanowich the Emperors uncle, Stephan Vasiliwich, Gregory Vasiliwich, Ivan Vasiliwich brothers of the blood royal. Thus at last the Emperor came to the great Church doore, and the people cried, God save our Emperour Pheodor Ivanowich of al Russia. His horse was there ready most richly adorned, with a covering of imbrodered pearle and precious stones, saddle, and all furniture agreeable to it, reported to be worth 300000. markes sterling.

There was a bridge made of 150. fadome in length three maner of waies, three foote above ground and two fadome broad, for him to goe from one Church to the other with his Princes and nobles from the presse of the people, which were in number infinite, and some at that time pressed to death with the throng. As the Emperour returned out of the Churches, they were spred under foot with cloth of gold, the porches of the Churches with red velvet, the bridges with scarlet, and stammell cloth from one church to another: and as soone as the Emperor was passed by, the cloth of gold, velvet and scarlet was cut, and taken of those that could come by it, every man desirous to have a piece, to reserve it for a monument: silver and gold coyne, then mynted of purpose was cast among the people in great quantitie. The lord Boris Pheodorowich was sumptuously, and richly attired, with his garments decked with great orient pearle, beset with al sorts of precious stones. In like rich maner were appareled all the family of the Godonovaes in their degrees, with the rest of the princes, and nobilitie, whereof one named Knez Ivan Michalowich Glynsky, whose robe, horse, and furniture, was in register found worth one hundred thousand markes sterling, being of great antiquitie. The Empresse being in her pallace, was placed in her chaire of Majesty also before a great open window: most precious, and rich were her robes, and shining to behold, with rich stones, and orient pearle beset, her crowne was placed upon her head, accompanied

with her Princesses, and Ladies of estate : then cried out the people, God preserve our noble Emperesse Irenia. After all this the Emperour came into the Parliament house which was richly decked : there he was placed in his royall seat adorned as before : his 6. crownes were set before him upon a table : the basin, and ewer royall of gold held by his knight of gard with his men standing two on each side in white apparell of cloth of silver, called Kindry, with scepters, and battle axes of gold in their hands : the Princes, and nobilitie were all placed according to their degrees all in their rich roabs.

The Emperour after a short oration, permitted every man in order to kisse his hande : which being done, he removed to a princely seate prepared for him at the table : where he was served by his nobles in very princely order. The three out roomes being very great, and large were beset with plate of golde, and silver round, from the ground up to the vaults one upon the other : among which plate were many barrels of silver and golde : this solemnitie, and triumph lasted a whole weeke, wherein many royall pastimes were shewed and used : after which the chieftest men of the nobilitie were elected to their places of office, & dignitie, as the Prince Boris Pheodorowich was made chiefe Counsellor to the Emperor, Master of the horse, had the charge of his person, Liutenant of the Empire, and Warlike engins, Governor or Liutenant of the Empire of Cazan, and Astracan and others : to this dignitie were by Parliament, and gift of the Emperor given him many revenues, and rich lands, as there was given him, and his for ever to inherite a province called Vaga, of 300. English miles in length, and 250. in bredth, with many townes and great villages populous and wealthy, his yeerely revenue out of that province, is 35. thousand markes sterling, being not the 5. part of his yerely revenue. Further, he and his house be of such authoritie, and power, that in 40. dayes warning they are able to bring into the fielde 100. thousand Souldiers well furnished.

The conclusion of the Emperors Coronation was a peale of ordinance, called a peale royall two miles without the citie, being 170. great pieces of brasse of all sorts, as faire as any can be made, these pieces were all discharged with shot against bulwarkes made of purpose : 20. thousand hargubusers standing in 8. rankes two miles in

length, appareled all in velvet, coloured silke & stammels, discharged their shot also twice over in good order : and so the Emperor accompanied with all his princes and nobles, at the least 50. thousand horse departed through the City to his pallace. This royall coronation would aske much time, and many leaves of paper to be described particularly as it was performed : it shal suffice, to understand that the like magnificence was never seene in Russia.

The coronation, and other triumphes ended, al the nobilitie, officers, and merchants according to an accustomed order every one in his place, and degree brought rich presents unto the Emperor, wishing him long life, and joy in his kingdome.

The same time also Master Jerom Horsey aforesaid, remayning as servant in Russia for the Queenes most excellent Majestie, was called for to the Emperor, as he sate in his imperiall seat, and then also a famous Merchant of Netherland being newly come to Mosco, (who gave him selfe out to be the king of Spaines subject) called John de Wale, was in like sort called for. Some of the nobilitie would have preferred this subject of the Spaniard before Master Horsey servant to the Queene of England, whereunto Master Horsey would in no case agree, saying, he would have his legges cut off by the knees, before he would yeeld to such an indignitie offered to his Sovereigne the Queenes Majesty of England, to bring the Emperor a present, in course after the King of Spaines subject, or any other whatsoever. The Emperor, and the Prince Boris Pheodorowich perceiving the controversie, sent the Lord Treasurer Peter Ivanowich Galavyn, and Vasili Shalkan, both of the Counsell, to them, who delivered the Emperor backe, Master Horseys speech : whereupon he was first in order (as good reason) admitted and presented the Emperor in the behalfe of the English Merchants trading thither, a present wishing him joy, and long to raigne in tranquillitie, and so kissed the Emperors hand, he accepting the present with good liking, and avouching, that for his sisters sake Queene Elizabeth of England, he would be a gracious Lord to her Merchants, in as ample maner as ever his father had ben : and being dismissed, he had the same day sent him 70. dishes of sundry kinds of meats, with 3. carts laden with al sorts of drinks very bountifully. After him was the

foresayd subject of the Spanish king admitted with his present, whom the Emperor willed to be no lesse faithfull and serviceable unto him, then the Queene of Englands subjects were & had bene, and then the king of Spaines subjects should receive favour accordingly.

All these things thus in order performed, praises were sung in all the churches. The Emperor and Emperesse very devoutly resorted on foote to many principal Churches in the Citie, and upon Trinitie Sunday betooke themselves to a progresse in order of procession, to a famous monasterie called Sergius and the Trinitie, 60. miles distant from the Citie of Mosco, accompanied with a huge armie of Noblemen, Gentlemen and others, mounted upon goodly horses with furniture accordingly.

The Emperesse of devotion tooke this journey on foot all the way, accompanied with her princesses and ladies, no small number : her guard and gunners were in number 20000, her chiefe counsellor or attendant, was a noble man of the blood Roial her uncle of great authoritie called Demetri Ivanowich Godonova. All this progresse ended, both the Emperor and Emperesse returned to Mosco : shortly after the Emperor by the direction of the prince Boris Pheodorowich, sent a power into the land of Siberia, where all the rich Sables & Furies are gotten. This power conquered in one yeere and a halfe, 1000. miles. In the performance of this warre, there was taken prisoner the Emperor of the countrey called Chare Sibersky, and with him many other dukes and noble men, which were brought to Mosko with a guard of souldiers and gunners, who were received into the citie in very honorable maner, and do there remaine to this day.

Hereupon the corrupt officers, Judges, Justices, captains and lieutenants through the whole kingdom were remooved, and more honest men substituted in their places, with expresse commandement, under severe punishment to surcease their old bribing & extortion which they had used in the old Emperors time, and now to execute true justice without respect of persons : and to the end that this might be the better done, their lands and yearly stipends were augmented : the great taskes, customes, and duties, which were before layd upon the people in the old Emperors time, were now abated, and some wholly remitted, and no punishments commanded to be used, without sufficient and due prooffe, although the crime

were capitall, deserving death: many Dukes and noble men of great houses, that were under displeasure, and imprisoned 20. yeeres by the old Emperor, were now set at libertie and restored to their lands: all prisoners were set at libertie, and their trespasses forgiven. In summe, a great alteration universally in the government folowed, and yet all was done quietly, civilly, peaceably, without trouble to the Prince, or offence to the Subject: and this bred great assurance and honour to the kingdom, and all was accomplished by the wisdom especially of Irenis the Emperesse.

These things being reported and caried to the eares of the kings and princes that were borderers upon Russia, they grew so fearefull and terrible to them, that the Monarch of all the Scythians called the Crimme Tartar or great Can himselfe, named Sophet Keri Alli, came out of his owne countrey to the Emperor of Russia, accompanied with a great number of his nobilitie well horsed, although to them that were Christians they seemed rude, yet they were personable men, and valiant: their comming was gratefull to the Emperor, and their entertainment was honourable, the Tartar prince having brought with him his wives also, received of the Russe Emperor entertainment, and princely welcome according to their estates.

Not long after, 1200. Polish gentlemen, valiant Souldiors, and proper men came to Mosko offering their service to the Emperor, who were all entertained: and in like sort many Chirkasses, and people of other nations came and offred service. And assoone as the report of this new created Emperor was spread over other kingdoms of Europe, there were sent to him sundry Ambassadors to wish him joy and prosperitie in his kingdom: thither came Ambassadors from the Turke, from the Persian, the Bogharian, the Crimme, the Georgian, and many other Tartar princes. There came also Ambassadors from the Emperor of Almaine, the Pole, the Swethen, the Dane, &c. And since his coronation no enemie of his hath prevailed in his attempts.

It fell out not long after, that the Emperor was desirous to send a message to the most excellent Queene of England, for which service he thought no man fitter then M. Jerome Horsey, supposing that one of the Queenes owne men and subjects would be the more acceptable to

her. The summe of which message was, that the Emperour desired a continuance of that league, friendship, amitie and intercourse of traffique which was betweene his father and the Queens majestie and her subjects, with other private affaires besides, which are not to be made common.

Master Horsey having received the letters and requests of the Emperour, provided for his journey over land, and departed from Mosco the fift day of September, thence unto Otver, to Torshook, to great Novogrod, to Vobsky, and thence to Nyhouse in Livonia, to Wenden, and so to Riga : (where he was beset, and brought foorthwith before a Cardinall called Ragevil, but yet suffred to passe in the end :) From thence to Mito, to Golden, and Libou in Curland, to Memel, to Koningsburgh in Prussia, to Elbing, to Dantzike, to Stetine in Pomerland, to Rostock, to Lubeck, to Hamborough, to Breme, to Emden, and by sea to London. Being arrived at her majesties roiall court, and having delivered the Emperours letters with good favour, and gracious acceptance, he was foorthwith againe commaunded to repasse into Russia, with other letters from her majestie to the Emperour, and prince Boris Pheodorowich, answering the Emperours letters, and withall requesting the favour and friendship, which his father had yeilded to the English merchants : and hereunto was he earnestly also solicited by the merchants of London themselves of that company, to deale in their behalfe. Being thus dispatched from London by sea, he arrived in Mosco, the 20. of April 1586. and was very honorably welcommed. And for ye merchants behoofe, obtained all his requests, being therein specially favoured by ye noble prince Boris Pheodorowich, who alwayes affected M. Horsey with speciall liking. And having obtained privileges for the merchants, he was recommended from the Emperour againe, to the Queene of England his mistresse, by whom the prince Boris, in token of his honorable and good opinion of the Queens majestie, sent her highnesse a roiall present of Sables, Luzarns, cloth of gold and other rich things. So that the Companie of English merchants, next to their thankfulnes to her majestie, are to account M. Horseis paines their speciall benefit, who obtained for them those privileges, which in twentie yeeres before would not be granted.

The maner of M. Horseis last dispatch from the

Emperor, because it was very honorable, I thought good to record. He was freely allowed post horses for him and his servants, victuals and all other necessities for his long journey; at every towne that he came unto from Mosco to Vologda, which is by land five hundred miles, he received the like free and bountifull allowances, at the Emperors charge. New victuall and provision were given him upon the river Dwina at every towne by the kings officers, being one thousand miles in length. When he came to the new castle called Archangel, he was received of the Duke Knez Vasili Andrewich Isvenogorodsky by the Emperors commission into the Castle, gunners being set in rankes after their use, where he was sumptuously feasted: from thence hee was dispatched with bountifull provision and allowance in the Dukes boat, with one hundred men to rowe him, and one hundred Gunners in other boats to conduct him, with a gentleman captaine of the Gunners. Comming to the road where the English, Dutch, and French ships rode, the gunners discharged, and the ships shot in like maner 46. pieces of their ordinance, & so he was brought to his lodging at the English house upon Rose Island.

And that which was the full and complete conclusion of the favour of the Emperor and Boris Pheodorowich toward M. Horsey, there were the next day sent him for his further provision upon the sea by a gentleman and a captaine the things following.

16. live oxen.	2. swans.
70. sheepe.	65. gallons of mead.
600. hens.	40. gallons of Aquavitæ.
25. fitches of Bacon.	60. gallons of beere.
80. bushels of meale.	3. yong beares.
600. loaves of bread.	4. hawkes.
2000. eggs.	Store of onions and garlike.
10. geese.	10. fresh salmons.
2. cranes.	A wild bore.

All these things were brought him downe by a Gentleman of the Emperors, and another of prince Boris Pheodorowich, & were received in order by John Frese servant to M. Horsey, together with an honorable present and reward from the prince Boris, sent him by M. Francis Cherry an Englishman: which present was a whole very rich piece of cloth of gold, & a faire paire of Sables.

This Gentleman hath observed many other rare things concerning those partes, which hereafter (God willing) at more convenient time and laisure shall come to light.

Pheodor Ivanowich the new Emperors gracious letter of privilege to the English Merchants word for word, obtained by M. Jerome Horsey, 1586.

THROUGH the wil of the almightie, and without beginning God, which was before this world, whom we glorifie in ye Trinitie, one only God the father, the sonne, and the holy ghost, maker of all things, worker of all in all every where, fulfiller of all things, by which will and working, he both loveth and giveth life to man, That our onely God, which inspireth every one of us his onely children with his word, to discerne God through our Lord Jesus Christ, and the holy quickning spirit of life now in these perilous times, Establish us to keep the right Scepter, and suffer us of our selves to raigne to the good profite of the land, and to the subduing of the people, together with the enemies, and to the maintenance of vertue.

We Pheodor the ofspring of John, the great Lord, Emperor, king and great prince of all Russia, of Volodemeria, Moscovia and Novogrod, king of Cazan, king of Astracan, Lord of Plesko, and great prince of Smolensko, of Tuer, Yougoria, Permia, Viatsko, of Bolghar and others, lord and great prince of the land of the lower Novogrod, Chernigo, Rezan, Polotsko, Rostow, Yeraslave, the White lake, Liefland, Oudor, Condensa, and Ruler of all Siberia, and all the Northside, and lord of many other countries.

I have gratified the merchants of England, to wit, sir Rowland Haiward, and Richard Martin Aldermen, sir George Barnes, Thomas Smith esquire, Jerome Horsey, Richard Saltonstall, with their fellowes.

I have licensed them to saile with their shippes into our dominion the land of Dwina, with all kind of commodities to trade freely, and unto our kingdom and the citie of Mosco, and to all the cities of our empire of Moscovia.

An the english merchants sir Rowland Haiward & his societie desired us, that we would gratifie them to trade into our kingdom of Moscovia, and into our heritage of great Novogrod and Plesko, and into ali parts of our

kingdom, to buy and sell with their wares without custome.

Therefore we for our sisters sake Queene Elizabeth, also because that they allege that they had great loss and hinderance by the venture of the sea, and otherwise have gratified the said English merchants sir Rowland Haiward and his societie, freely to come into our kingdom of Moscovia, and into al our dominions with al kind of commodities, to trade, & traffique freely, & at their pleasure with all kind of their commodities: also I have commanded not to take any maner of custome for their goods, nor other customs whatsoever: That is to say, neither for passing by any place by water, nor for lanching, neither for passing through any place by land, neither for the vessels or boats, nor for their heads, nor for passing over bridges, nor for feryng over at any place, neither for acknowledgement at any place where they shall come, nor any maner of custome or dutie, by what name soever.

Only they shal not bring with them into our dominions, neither recarie out of our dominions, or father any other mens goods but their owne, neither sell them nor barter them away for them.

Also our naturall people shall not buy and sell for them, or from them, neither shal they retaine or keepe any of our naturall subjects goods, or pawnes by them to colour them.

Also they shall not send any of their Russe servants about into any citie to ingrosse, or buy up commodities, but into what citie they themselves shal come, they shal buy and sel, and shal sel their owne commodities and not ours.

And when they shal come into our inheritance of great Novogrod and Plesko, and through all our dominions with their commodities, then our noblemen and captains, and every one of our oficers shall suffer them to depart according to this our letter, & shall take no custom at all of them, for any of their commodities, neither for passing through or passing by, nor for passage over any bridges, nor shall take of them any other dutie whatsoever name they have.

Also into what places of our dominion, or when they shal happen to come, and to proceed to buy or sell, and wheresoever they shall passe through with goods not

buying of any commodities, neither will sell their owne, then in those cities and townes they shall take no maner of custome or dutie of them, accordingly as before.

And I have gratified them and given them free leave to traffique throughout all the dominions of our kingdom in all cities with their goods, to buy and sell all maner of commodities, without any dutie or custome whatsoever.

And the English merchants where they are desirous to buy or sell, or barter their wares with our merchants, whole wares for wares, they shal sell their commodities whole, and not by retaile: That is to say, neither by small weight nor by the yard, to sell or barter in their owne houses, and they shal sel and barter their wares wholly, Cloth by the packe, and by the whole Cloth, and Damaske and velvet by the piece and not by the yard, and al maner of commodities that are to be sold by weight, not to sell by the small weights, as by the pound and ounce, but by whole sale: also they shall sel wines by the pipe: and by the gallon, quart or stoope they shal not sell.

And they shall buy, sell and exchange their owne commodities themselves, and the Russe merchants shall not make sales or exchange for them or from them any of their commodities, neither shal they themselves convey or cary through any other mans goods at no place in stead of their owne: and which of the English merchants will at any time sell his commodities at Colmogro or Vologda or Yeraslave, they may, and of their commodities throughout all our cities and dominions, our noblemen, captains, and every of our officers shall take no maner of custome, according as it is written in this our gracious letter: and throughout all our dominions and cities they shal hire carriers and vessels with men to labour, at their owne charge, to transport their goods.

So likewise, whensoever the English merchants are disposed to depart out of our kingdom into any other countrey or into their owne land, if our pleasure be, they shall take our goods with them from our Treasurie, and shall sell them, and exchange them for such commoditie as is commodious for our kingdom, and shall deliver it into our Treasurie, and with those our commodities, our Noblemen and captains, and every of our officers shall let them passe through all our cities also without custome according to these our letters.

Also whensoever the English merchants shall have sold *their own goods & bought themselves commodities, & wil depart out of Mosco, then they shal manifest themselves to our chiefe Secretarie Andrew Sholkalove, in the office where the Ambassadors are alwayes dispatched.*

And if the English merchants comming, have had any mischance by the sea, insomuch that the ship be broken or if that ship do come to any part of our countrey : then we will cause the goods to be sought out in true Justice, and to be given to the English people, which at that time shall bee here resident in our countrey : and if so be that it so fall out that at that time there be no Englishmen within our realme : then wil we cause these goods to be laid up in a place together, and when the people of England shall come into our realme, then we will command all those goods to be delivered to the sayd English people.

Also we have gratified all the English merchants with the house of one Urie here in the Mosco right over against S. Maximes church behind the market, and they shal dwel in the same house according as before time, and they shall keepe one alwayes in the house to keepe it, either a Russe, or one of their owne people.

Also the English merchants shal possesse their houses, to wit, at Yeraslave, Vologda, Colmogro, and the house at the haven of the sea, & they shal dwel in those houses, according as our goodnes hath bene to them heretofore : and we have commanded, that there shall not be taken of them no yeerely rent, nor no maner of custome, taxe, rent or any other dutie whatsoever for those houses, neither shal they pay any dutie or taxe with any of the townsmen of those places, & in every one of those houses, to wit, at Yeraslave, Vologda, and Colmogro, they shall have men to keepe their houses, two or three of their owne countrey people, strangers or els Russes, men of the meanest sort, which shall be no merchants, that they may lay their goods in those houses, and they may sell the commodities out of those their houses to whom they please, according to this our gracious letter : and those that keepe their houses shall not sell or buy no part of their commoditie, except they be there or give order, whereby they be not deceived by them.

So likewise I have gratified them with their house at the sea haven, at the mouth of Podezemsky, & we have commanded that they shal not cary their goods from thence to

new castle S. Michael the archangel, but shall arrive, and doe as they have done heretofore with their wares at that their house, and shall unlade their commodities out of their ships, and shal lade them againe with Russe commodities, even there at that their house without interruption : onely they shal permit our officers of Colmogro & sworn men to write up those commodities, both the commodities of England, and those of Russeland, what the merchants shal declare themselves, & no otherwise, but they shal not overlooke their commodities, neither shal they unbind any of their packs.

And when the English merchants are disposed to send into their owne countrey, to wit, any of their owne people on land through any other kingdom whatsoever, they shall not send their people without our kingly knowledge and commandement, and which of their people so ever they do meane to send out of our kingdom into their owne countrey, then they shal send those their people, not without our kingly majesties knowledge, to wit, those that go of pleasure without carying any commodities with them, and they shall have a letter of passe given unto them, out of the office where the Ambassadors have alwayes their dispatch.

And whosoever hath any thing to doe with them in matters of controversie, either concerning merchandize or injuries, then they are to be judged by our treasurers and Secretarie of the Ambassadors office to do justice between both parties, & to seek out the trueth of matters in all things, and whatsoever cannot be found out by the Law, shalbe tried by othe and lots : whose lot soever is taken fourth, him to have right.

And in what place of all our kingdom, in what citie soever they or their people shall bee, and that there happen any matter of controversie, either concerning merchandise, injuries or otherwise, that they have occasion to set upon any man by lawe, or that any seeke upon them, concerning what matter soever in all our kingdom and cities, then our lieutenants, captains, and our officers shall give them Justice, and shall minister all true justice betweene them, seeking out the trueth : and what cannot be truly sought by law, shalbe sought out by othe and lot : whose lot soever is taken out, him to have right accordingly as before, and the Judges or Justices shall take of them no kind of dutie, for matters of law no where

throughout all our realmes. This letter is given in our princely palace within the citie of Mosco, in the yeere from the foundation of the world, seven thousand fourescore and fifteene in the moneth of February.

The Ambassage of M. Giles Fletcher, Doctor of the Civil Law, sent from her Majestie to Theodor the Emperor of Russia, Anno 1588.

IN the yeere 1588. was sent Ambassador from her highnesse into the countrey of Russia, Giles Fletcher Doctor of the Civil Lawe, as well to treat with the new Emperor Pheodor Ivanowich, about league and amitie, in like maner as was before with his father Ivan Vasilowich, as also for the reestablishing and reducing into order the decaied trade of our Englishmen there. Who notwithstanding at his first arrivall at the Mosco, found some parts of hard entertainment, by meanes of certaine rumors concerning the late navall victory which was there reported to have fallen on the Spanish side, as also for some dislike conceived against the privileged trade of our English merchants. Yet in the end he obtained of the Emperour many good & equall conditions, and was curteously and honourably dismissed by him. The principall points which he entreated of, and were granted unto him by the said Emperour, were these :

1 A continuation of league and amitie betweene her Highnesse and the sayd Emperour Pheodor Ivanowich, in like maner as was before with his father Ivan Vasilowich.

2 A confirmation and reestablishment of the former privileges of the Companie of our English merchants, which were infringed and annulled in the principal points, with divers necessary additions to the same, for the better ordering of their trade in those countreys hereafter, viz. That the state of the privilege granted before in the names of some private and particular men, be altered in that point, and the same granted by the name and stile of their incorporation, viz. To the felowship of English merchants for the discoverie of new trades.

3 That upon every surmise and light quarel, the said privilege be not revoked and annulled, as before time it hath bene.

4 That justice shall be administred to the said Companie and their Agent without delay, upon such as shal offer

them any despite or injurie, or shal exact or impose upon them any paiement, taxation or imposition whatsoever, contrary to the freedome of the said grant.

5 That the goods & commodities of the said Companie, be not forcibly taken as before time they had bene by the Emperors officers or people of authoritie, either for the use of the said Emperor or of his officers. But in case they have need of the said commodities, the same to be taken at reasonable prices, and for ready money.

6 That the said Companie be not charged hereafter with the answering of such debts as are made by any Englishman not being of the societie.

7 That the Emperors authorized people shall not hereafter repute any Englishman resiant in that countrey, to be any factor, servant, or dealer in the said Companies affaires, but such as the Agent shall inregister by name, within the offices where custome is entered in all such places of the land where the sayd Companie have residences to traffike.

8 That the names of such as shall so be inregistred be no longer continued in record, nor themselves reputed as factors or dealers for the said Companie, then the Agent shall thinke good. But in case the said Agent in his discretion shall thinke meet to strike out of the Register any name of such as have bene imploied in the Companies service, the said person to be held as private, & whose acte in bargaining or otherwise, shall not charge the said Companie.

9 That if any English man within the countrey of Russia be suspected for any notorious crime, as felony, treason, &c. the same be not straightwaies set upon the Pudkey, nor otherwise tormented, till such time as he shall be convicted by plaine and evident proofes: which being done, the whole proceeding to be sent over to the Queene of England.

10 That the said privilege with the additions, shall be published in all townes and partes of the Emperors dominions, where the said Companie have traffike.

11 That the said Companie shall be permitted to use a sole trade through the Emperours countries, by the river Volga into Media, Persia, Bogharia, and the other the East countries.

12 Whereas there was claimed of the said Companie the summe of 23553. markes of debt, made by certaine of

their factors for the said company, for paiment whereof, their whole stocke was in danger of arrest, by publike authoritie: Further also 2140. rubbles for custome and houserent, he obtained a rebatement of eighteene thousand, one hundred fiftie and three marks of the sayd debt.

The said Ambassador M. Giles Fletcher, as I understand, hath drawn a booke intituled, Of the Russe Common wealth, containing :

First, a Cosmographically description of the countrey, which hath these chapters.

- 1 Of the length and bredth of the countrey of Russia, with the names of the shires.
- 2 Of the soile and climate.
- 3 Of the native commodities of the countrey.

Secondly, a description of their policie contained in these Chapters, viz.

- 1 Of the constitution or state of the Russe Common wealth.
- 2 Of their Parliaments, and maner of holding them.
- 3 Of the Russe Nobilitie and meanes whereby it is kept in an under proportion agreeable to that state.
- 4 Of the maner of governing their provinces or shires.
- 5 Of the Emperours privie counsell.
- 6 Of the Emperours customs & their revenues, with the practises for the increase of them.
- 7 Of the Russe communaltie and their condition.
- 8 Of their publike justice and maner of proceeding therein.
- 9 Of the Emperours forces for his warres, with the chiefe officers, and their salarie or pay.
- 10 Of their maner of mustering, armour, and provision for victuall.
- 11 Of their ordering, marching, charging, and their martiall discipline.
- 12 Of their colonies and policie in maintaining their purchases by conquest.
- 13 Of their borderers with whom they have most to doe in warre and peace.
- 14 Of their church offices and degrees.
- 15 Of their liturgie or forme of Church service.
- 16 Of their maner of administring the Sacraments.

- 17 Of the doctrine of the Russe church.
- 18 Of the maner of solemnizing their mariages.
- 19 Of the other ceremonies of the Russe church.

Thirdly, the Oeconomic or private behaviour of the Russe containing these chapters.

- 1 Of the Emperors household officers, and order of his house.
- 2 Of the private behaviour and maner of the Russe people.

The description of the countrey of Russia, with the bredth, length, and names of the Shires.

THE countrey of Russia was somtimes called Sarmatia. It changed the name (as some do suppose) for that it was parted into divers smal, and yet absolute governments, not depending, nor being subject the one to the other. For Russe in that tongue doeth signifie as much as to part, or deuide. The Russe reporteth that foure brethren, Trubor, Rurico, Sinees, and Varivus devided among them the North parts of the country. Likewise that the South parts were possessed by 4. other, Kio, Scieko, Choranus, and their sister Libeda: each calling his territorie after his own name. Of this partition it was called Russia, about the yere from Christ 860. As for the conjecture which I find in some Cosmographers, that the Russe nation borrowed the name of the people called Roxellani, & were the very same nation with them, it is without all good probabilitie, both in respect of the etymologie of the word (which is very far fet) and especially for the seat and dwelling of that people, which was betwixt the two rivers of Tanais and Boristhenes, (as Strabo reporteth) quite another way from the countrey of Russia.

When it bare the name of Sarmatia, it was devided into two chiefe parts: the White and the Black. The white Sarmatia was all that part that lieth towards the North, & on the side of Liefeland: as the provinces now called Dwina, Vagha, Ustiug, Vologda, Cargapolia, Novogrodia, &c whercof Novogrod velica was the Metropolitane or chiefe citie. Black Sarmatia was al that countrey that lieth Southward towards the Euxin or Black sea: as the dukedome of Volodemer, of Mosco, Rezan, &c. Some have thought that the name of Sarmatia was first taken from one Sarmates, whom Moses & Josephus cal Asarmathes

sonne to Joktan, & nephew to Heber, of the posteritie of Sem. But this seemeth to be nothing but a conjecture taken out of the likenes of the name Asarmathes. For the dwelling of all Joktans posteritie is described by Moses to have bene betwixt Mescha or Masius (an hil of the Ammonites) & Sephace, nere to the river Euphrates : which maketh it very unlikely that Asarmathes should plant any colonies so far off in ye North & northwest countries. It is bounded northward by the Lappes & the North Ocean. On the Southside by the Tartars called Crimmes. Eastward they have the Nagaian Tartar, that possesseth all the countrey on the East side of Volga towards the Caspian sea. On the West and Southwest border lieth Lituania, Livonia and Polonia.

The whole Countrey being nowe reduced under the government of one, containeth these chiefe Provinces or Shires. Volodemer, (which beareth the first place in the Emperours stile, because their house came of the Dukes of that Countrey) Mosco, Nisnovogrod, Plesko, Smolensko, Novogrod velica (or Novogrod of the low Countrey) Rostove, Yaruslave, Bealozera, Rezan, Duyna, Cargapolia, Meschora, Vagha, Ustuga, Ghaletsa. These are the naturall shires perteyning to Russia, but farre greater and larger then the shires of England, though not so well peopled. The other Countreys or provinces which the Russe Emperours have gotten perforce added of late to their other dominion, are these which followe, Twerra, Youghoria, Permia, Vadska, Boulghoria, Chernigo, Oudoria, Obdoria, Condora, with a great part of Siberia : where the people though they be not naturall Russes, yet obey the Emperour of Russia, and are ruled by the Lawes of the Countrey, paying customes and taxes, as his owne people doe. Besides these he hath under him the kingdomes of Cazan and Astracan, gotten by conquest not long since. As for all his possession in Lituania (to the number of 30. great Townes and more,) with Narve and Dorp in Livonia, they are quite gone, being surprised of late yeeres by the Kings of Poland and Sweden. These Shires and Provinces are reduced all into foure Jurisdictions, which they call Chetfyrds (that is) Tetrarchies, or Fourthparts.

The whole Countrey is of great length and breadth. From the North to the South (if you measure from Cola to Astracan which bendeth somewhat Eastward) it

reacheth in length about 4260. verst, or miles. Notwithstanding the Emperour of Russia hath more territorie Northward, farre beyond Cola unto the River of Tromschua, that runneth a hundred verst, welnigh beyond Pechinga, neere to Wardhouse, but not intire nor clearly limited, by reason of the kings of Sweden and Denmarke, that have divers Townes there, aswell as the Russe, plotted together the one with the other: every one of them clayming the whole of those North parts as his owne right. The breadth (if you go from that part of his territorie that lyeth farthest Westward on the Narve side, to the parts of Siberia Eastward, where the Emperour hath his garrisons) is 4400. verst or thereabouts. A verst (by their reckoning) is a 1000. pases, yet lesse by one quarter then an English mile. If the whole dominion of the Russe Emperour were all habitable, and peopled in all places, as it is in some, he would either hardly holde it all within one regiment, or be over mightie for all his neighbour Princes.

Of the Soile and Climate.

THE soyle of the Countrey for the most part is of a sleight sandie mould, yet very much different one place from another, for the yeeld of such things as grow out of the earth. The Countrey Northwards towards the parts of S. Nicholas and Cola, and Northeast towards Siberia, is all very barren, and full of desert woods by reason of the Climate, and extremitie of the colde in Winter time. So likewise along the River Volgha betwixt the Countreys of Cazan, and Astracan: where (notwithstanding the soyle is very fruitfull) it is all uninhabited, saving that upon the river Volgha on the Westside, the Emperour hath some fewe Castels with garisons in them. This happeneth by meanes of the Crimme Tartar, that will neither himselfe plant Townes to dwel there, (living a wild and vagrant life) nor suffer the Russe (that is farre off with the strength of his Countrey) to people those parts. From Vologda (which lyeth almost 1700. verst from the port of S. Nicholas) downe towards Mosco, and so towards the South part that bordereth upon the Crimme, (which containeth the like space of 1700. verst or thereabouts) is a very fruitfull and pleasant Countrey, yeelding pasture, and corne, with woods and waters in very great plentie. The like is betwixt Rezan (that lyeth Southeast

from Mosco) to Novogrod and Vobsko, that reach farthest towards the Northwest. So betwixt Mosco, and Smolensko (that lyeth Southwest towards Lituania) is a very fruitfull and pleasant soile.

The whole Countrey differeth very much from it selfe, by reason of the yeere : so that a man would marveile to see the great alteration and difference betwixt the Winter, and the Summer Russia. The whole Countrey in the Winter lieth under snow, which falleth continually, and is sometime of a yard or two thicke, but greater towards the North. The Rivers and other waters are all frozen up a yard or more thicke, how swift or broade so ever they bee. And this continueth commonly five moneths, viz. from the beginning of November till towards the ende of March, what time the snow beginneth to melt. So that it would breede a frost in a man to looke abroad at that time, and see the Winter face of that Countrey. The sharpenesse of the aire you may judge of by this : for that water dropped downe or cast up into the aire congealeth into yce before it come to the ground. In the extremitie of Winter, if you holde a pewter dish or pot in your hand, or any other mettall (except in some chamber where their warme stoaves bee) your fingers will friese fast unto it, and drawe off the skinne at the parting. When you passe out of a warme roome into a colde, you shall sensibly feele your breath to waxe starke, and even stifeling with the colde, as you drawe it in and out. Divers not onely that travell abroad, but in the very markets, and streetes of their Townes, are mortally pinched and killed withall : so that you shall see many drop downe in the streetes ; many travellers brought into the Townes sitting dead and stiffe in their Sleds. Divers lose their noses, the tips of their eares, and the bals of their cheekes, their toes, feete, &c. Many times (when the Winter is very hard and extreeme) the beares and woolfes issue by troupes out of the woods driven by hunger, and enter the villages, tearing and ravening all they can finde : so that the inhabitants are faine to flie for safeguard of their lives. And yet in the Sommer time you shal see such a new hiew and face of a Countrey, the woods (for the most part which are all of firre and birch) so fresh and so sweete, the pastures and medowes so greene and well grown, (and that upon the sudden) such varietie of flowers, such noyse of birdes (specially of

Nightingales, that seeme to be more lowde and of a more variable note then in other Countreys) that a man shall not lightly travell in a more pleasant Countrey.

And this fresh and speedy growth of the Spring there seemeth to proceede from the benefite of the snow: which all the Winter time being spread over the whole Countrey as a white robe, and keeping it warme from the rigour of the frost, in the Spring time (when the Sunne waxeth warme, and dissolveth it into water) doeth so thoroughly drench and soake the ground, that is somewhat of a sleight and sandie mould, and then shineth so hotely upon it againe, that it draweth the hearbes and plants foorth in great plentie and varietie, in a very short time. As the Winter exceedeth in colde, so the Sommer inclineth to over much heat, specially in the moneths of June, July and August, being much warmer then the Sommer aire in England.

The Countrey throughout is very well watred with springs, rivers, and Ozeraes, or lakes. Wherein the providence of God is to be noted, for that much of the Countrey being so farre inland, as that some part lieth a thousand miles and more every way from any Sea, yet it is served with faire Rivers, and that in very great number, that emptying themselves one into another, runne all into the Sea. Their lakes are many and large, some of 60. 80. 100. and 200. miles long, with breadth proportionate.

The chiefe Rivers are these, First, Volgha, that hath his head or spring at the roote of an Aldertree, about 200. verst above Yaruslave, and groweth so bigge by the encrease of other Rivers by that time it commeth thither, that it is broad an English mile and more, and so runneth into the Caspian sea, about 2800. verst or miles of length.

The next is Boristhenes (now called Neper) that divideth the Countrey from Lituania, and falleth into the Euxin sea.

The third Tanais or Don, (the ancient bounder betwixt Europe and Asia) that taketh his head out of Rezan Ozer, and so running through the Countrey of the Chrim Tartar, falleth into the great Sea, lake, or meare, (called Mæotis) by the Citie of Azov. By this River (as the Russe reporteth) you may passe from their Citie Mosco to Constantinople, and so into all those parts of the world by water, drawing your boate (as their maner is) over a

little Isthmus or narrowe slip of land, a few versts overthwart. Which was proved not long since by an Ambassadors sent to Constantinople, who passed the River of Moscua, and so into another called Ocka, whence hee drew his boat over into Tanais, and thence passed the whole way by water.

The fourth is called Duyna, many hundred miles long, that falleth Northward into the bay of S. Nicholas, and hath great Alabaster rockes on the bankes towards the sea side.

The fifth Duna, that emptieth into the Baltick sea by the towne Riga.

The sixt Onega, that falleth into the Bay at Solovetsko 90. verst from the port of S. Nicholas. This River, below the towne Cargapolia, meeteth with the River Volock, that falleth into the Finland Sea by the towne Yama. So that from the port of S. Nicholas into the Finland sea, and so into the Sound, you may passe all by water, as hath bene tried by the Russe.

The seventh Suchana, that floweth into Duyna, and so into the North sea.

The eight Ocka, that fetcheth his head from the borders of the Chrim, and streameth into Volgha.

The ninth Moscua, that runneth thorow the Citie Mosco, and giveth it the name.

There is Wichida also a very large and long river that riseth out of Permia, and falleth into Volgha. All these are rivers of very large streames, the least to be compared to the Thames in bignesse, and in length farre more, besides divers others. The Pole at Mosco is 55. degrees 10. minutes. At the port of S. Nicholas towards the North 63. degrees and 50. minutes.

The native commodities of the Countrey.

For kindes of fruites, they have Apples, pearces, plummcs, cherries, red and blacke, (but the blacke wilde) a deene like a muske millian, but more sweete and pleasant, cucumbers and goords (which they call Arbouse) rasps, strawberries, and hurtilberies, with many other beries in great quantitie in every wood and hedge. Their kindes of graine are wheat, rie, barley, oates, pease, buckway, psnytha, that in taste is somewhat like to rice. Of all these graines the Countrey yeeldeth very sufficient with an overplus quantitie, so that wheate is solde sometime

for two alteens or ten pence starling the Chetfird, which maketh almost three English bushels.

Their rie is sowed before the Winter, all their other graine in the Spring time, and for the most part in May. The Permians and some other that dwell farre North, and in desert places, are served from the parts that lye more Southward, and are forced to make bread sometimes of a kinde of roote (called Vaghnoy) and of the middle rine of the firre tree. If there be any dearth (as they accompted this last yeere Anno 1588. wheat and rie being at 13. alteens, or 5. shillings five pence starling the Chetfird) the fault is rather in the practise of their Nobilitie that use to engrosse it, then in the Countrey it selfe.

The native commodities of the Countrey (wherewith they serve both their owne turnes, and send much abroad to the great enriching of the Emperor, and his people) are many & substantiall. First, furies of all sorts. Wherein the providence of God is to be noted, that provideth a naturall remedie for them, to helpe the naturall inconvenience of their Countrey by the cold of the Climat. Their chief furies are these, Blacke fox, Sables, Lusernes, dun fox, Martrones, Gurnestalles or Armins, Lasets or Miniver, Bever, Wulverins, the skin of a great water Rat that smelleth naturally like muske, Calaber or gray squirrel, red squirrel, red & white fox. Besides the great quantitie spent within ye Countrey (the people being clad al in furies the whole winter) there are transported out of the Countrey some yeeres by the merchants of Turkie, Persia, Bougharia, Georgia, Armenia, and some other of Christendom, to the value of foure or five hundred thousand rubbles, as I have heard of the merchants. The best Sable furre groweth in the countrey of Pechora, Momgosorskoy and Obdorskoy, the worser sort in Siberia, Perm, & other places. The blacke foxe and red come out of Siberia, white and dunne from Pechora, whence also come the white wolfe, and white Beare skin. The best Wulverin also thence and from Perm. The best Martrons are from Siberia, Cadam, Morum, Perm, and Cazan. Lyserns, Minever, and Armins, the best are out of Gallets, and Ouglits, many from Novogrod and Perm. The Beaver of the best sort breedeth in Murmonskey by Cola. Other common furies and most of these kindes grow in many, and some in all parts of the Countrey.

The second commoditie is of Waxe, whereof hath bene

shipped into forreigne countreys (as I have heard it reported by those that best know it) the summe of 50000. pood yeerely, every pood conteyneth 40. pound, but now about 10000. pood a yeere.

The third is their Honie, whereof besides an exceeding great quantitie spent in their ordinary drinckes (which is Mead of all sorts) and their other uses, some good quantitie is caried out of the countrey. The chiefe encrease of hony is in Mordua and Cadam neere to the Cheremissen Tartar: much out of Severskoy, Rezan, Morum, Cazan, Dorogobose, and Vasma.

Fourthly, of Tallow they afoord a great waight for transportation: not onely for that their countrey hath very much good ground apt for pasturage of cattell, but also by reason of their many Lents and other fastes: and partly because their greater men use much waxe for their lights, the poorer and meaner sort birch dried in their stoaves, and cut into long shivers, which they call Luchineos. Of tallow there hath bene shipped out of the Realme a few yeeres since about 100000. pood yerely, now not past 30000. or thereabouts. The best yeeld of tallow is in the parts and territories of Smolensko, Yaruslave, Ouglits, Novogrod, and Vologda, Otfer, and Gorodetskey.

An other principall commoditie is their Losh and Cow hide. Their Losh or Buffe hide is very faire and large. Their bull and cowe hide (for oxen they make none, neither yet weather) is of a small sise. There hath bene transported by merchants strangers some yeres 100000. hides. Now it is decreased to 30000. or thereabouts. Besides great store of goates skinnies, whereof great numbers are shipped out of the countrey. The largest kinde of Losh or Buffe breedeth about Rostove, Wichida, Novogrod, Morum, and Perm. The lesser sort within the kingdome of Cazan.

An other very great and principall commoditie is their Trane oyle, drawn out of the Seal fish. Where it will not be impertinent to shewe the maner of their hunting the Seal, which they make this oyle of: which is in this sort. Towards the ende of Sommer (before the frost beginne) they goe downe with their boates into the Bay of S. Nicholas, to a cape called Cusconesse or Foxnose, where they leave their boats till the next spring tide. When the Sunne waxeth warme toward the spring, and

yet the yce not melted within the Bay, they returne thither againe. Then drawing their boates over the sea yce, they use them for houses to rest and lodge in. There are commonly about 17. or 18. fleete of them, of great large boates, which divide themselves into divers companies, five or sixe boats in a consort.

They that first finde the haunt, fire a beacon, which they carry with them for the nonce. Which being espied by the other companies, by such among them as are appointed of purpose, they come altogether and compasse the Seales round about in a ring, that lie sunning themselves together upon the yce, commonly foure or five thousand in a shoale, and so they invade them every man with his club in his hand. If they hit them on the nose, they are soone killed. If on the sides or backe they beare out the blow, and many times so catch and holde downe the clubbe with their teeth by maine force, that the partie is forced to call for helpe to his fellowes.

The maner of the Seals is when they see themselves beset, to gather all close together in a throng or plumpe, to sway downe the yce, and to breake it (if they can) which so bendeth the yce that many times it taketh the sea water upon it, and maketh the hunters to wade a foote or more deepe. After the slaughter when they have killed what they can, they fall to sharing every boate his part in equall portions: and so they flay them, taking from the body the skin, and the lard or fat with all that cleaveth to the skin. This they take with them, leaving the bodies behind, and so go to shore. Where they digge pits in the ground of a fadome and an halfe deepe, or thereabout, and so taking the fat or lard off from the skinne, they throw it into the pit, and cast in among it hoat burning stones to melt it withall. The uppermost and purest is sold, and used to oile wool for cloth, the grosser (that is of a red colour) they sell to make sope.

Likewise of Ickary or Cavery, a great quantitie is made upon the river of Volgha out of the fish called Bellougina, the Sturgeon, the Severiga and the Sterledey. Whereof the most part is shipped by French and Netherlandish merchants for Italy and Spaine, some by English merchants.

The next is of Flax and Hempe, whereof there hath bene shipped (as I have heard merchants say) at the port of Narve a great part of 100. ships small and great yerely.

Now, not past five. The reason of this abating and decrease of this & other commodities, that were wont to be transported in a greater quantitie, is the shutting up of the port of ye Narve towards the Finland sea, which now is in the handes and possession of the Sweden. Likewise the stopping of the passage overland by the way of Smolensko, & Plotsko, by reason of their warres with the Polonian, which causeth the people to be lesse provident in mainteining and gathering these and like commodities, for that they lacke sales. For the growth of flaxe the province of Vobsko, and the countrey about is the chiefe and onely place. For Hempe Smolensko, Dorogobose and Vasma.

The countrey besides maketh great store of salt. Their best salt is made at Stararovse in very great quantitie, where they have great store of salt wels, about 250. verst from the sea. At Astracan salt is made naturally by the sea water, that casteth it up into great hils, and so it is digged downe, and caried away by the merchants and other that wil fetch it from thence. They pay to the Emperor for acknowledgement or custome 3.d. Russe upon every hundred weight. Besides these two, they make salt in many other places of the Realme, as in Perm, Wichida, Totma, Kenitsma, Solovetsky, Ocona, Bombasey, and Nonocks, all out of salt pits, save at Solovetsky, which lieth neere to the sea.

Likewise of Tarre they make a great quantitie out of their firre trees in the countrey of Duyna and Smolensko, whereof much is sent abroad. Besides these (which are all good and substantiall commodities) they have divers other of smaller accompt, that are naturall and proper to that countrey: as the fish tooth (which they call Ribazuba) which is used both among themselves, and the Persians and Bougharians that fetch it from thence for beads, knives, and sword hafts of Noblemen and gentlemen, and for divers other uses. Some use the powder of it against poison, as the Unicornes horne. The fish that weareth it is called a Morse, and is caught about Pechora. These fish teeth some of them are almost 2. foote of length, and weigh 11. or 12. pound apiece.

In the province of Corelia, and about the river Duyna towards the North sea, there groweth a soft rocke which they call Slude. This they cut into pieces, and so teare it into thin flakes, which naturally it is apt for, and so

use it for glasse-lanthorns and such like. It giveth both inwards and outwards a clearer light then glasse, and for this respect is better then either glasse or horne: for that it neither breaketh like glasse, nor yet will burne like the lanthorne. Saltpeter they make in many places, as at Ouglits, Yaruslave & Ustiug, and some smal store of brimstone upon the river Volgha, but want skil to refine it. Their iron is somewhat brittle, but a great weight of it is made in Corelia, Cargapolia, & Ustiug Thelesna. Other mine they have none growing within ye realme.

Their beasts of strange kinds are the Losh, the Ollen, the wild horse, the beare, the wolvering, or wood dog, the Lyserne, the Beaver, the Sable, the Martron, the black and dunne fox, the white Beare towards the sea coast of Pechora, the Gurnstale, the Laset or Minever. They have a kinde of Squirrell that hath growing on the pinion of the shoulder bone a long tuft of haire, much like unto feathers with a far broader taile then have any other squirrels, which they move and shake as they leape from tree to tree, much like unto a wing. They skise a large space, & seeme for to flie withal, and therefore they cal them Letach Vechshe, that is, the flying squirrels. Their hares and squirrels in Sommer are of the same colour with ours, in Winter the hare changeth her coate into milke white, the squirrel into gray, whereof commeth the Calaber.

They have fallow deere, the roe bucke, & goats very great store. Their horses are but smal, but very swift & hard, they travell them unshod both winter and Sommer, without all regard of pace. Their sheepe are but smal & beare course & harsh wool. Of foule they have divers of the principal kinds: First, great store of hawks, the eagle, the gerfaulcon, the slightfaulcon, the goshawk, the tassel, the sparhawk, &c. But the principal hawke y^t breedeth in the country, is counted ye gerfaulcon. Of other foules their principal kinds are the swan tame & wilde, (whereof they have great store) the storke, the crane, the tedder of the colour of a feasant, but far bigger & liveth in the firre woods. Of feasant and partridge they have very great plentie. An owle there is of a very great bignesse, more ugly to behold then ye owles of this country, with a broad face, & cares much like unto a man.

For fresh water fish, besides the common sorts (as

carpe, pikes, pearch, tench, roach, &c.) they have divers kinds very good and delicate: as the Bellouga or Bellougina of 4. or 5. elnes long, the Ositrina or Sturghion, the Severiga and Sterledy somewhat in fashion and taste like to the Sturghion, but not so thicke nor long. These 4. kinds of fish breed in the Volgha, and are caught in great plenty, and served thence into the whole Realme for a great food. Of the Roes of these foure kinds they make very great store of Icary or Caveary as was said before.

They have besides these that breed in the Volgha a fish called the Riba bela, or white salmon, which they accompt more delicate then they do the red salmon, whereof also they have exceeding great plentie in the Rivers Northward, as in Duyna, the river of Cola, &c. In the Oзера or lake neere a towne called Perislave, not far from the Mosco, they have a smal fish which they cal the fresh herring, of the fashion, and somewhat of the taste of a sea-herring. Their chiefe townes for fish are, Yaruslave, Bealozera, Novogrod, Astracan, and Cazan: which all yeeld a large custome to the Emperour every yeere for their trades of fishing, which they practise in Sommer, but sende it frozen in the Winter time into all parts of the Realme.

The chiefe Cities of Russia.

THE chiefe cities of Russia are Mosco, Novogrod, Rostove, Volodomer, Plesko, Smolensko, Jaruslave, Perislave, Nisnovogrod, Vologda, Ustiug, Colmogro, Cazan, Astracan, Cargapolia, Columna. The city of Mosco is supposed to be of great antiquitie, though the first founder be unknowen to the Russe. It seemeth to have taken the name from the river that runneth on the one side of the towne. Berosus the Chaldean in his 5. booke telleth that Nimrod (whom other prophane stories cal Saturne) sent Assyrius, Medus, Moscus, & Magog into Asia to plant colonies there, and that Moscus planted both in Asia and Europe. Which may make some probabilitie, that the citie, or rather the river whereon it is built, tooke the denomination from this Moscus: the rather because of the climate or situation, which is in the very farthest part & list of Europe, bordering upon Asia. The Citie was much enlarged by one Ivan or John, sonne to

Daniel, that first changed his title of duke into King: though that honor continued not to his posterity: the rather because he was invested into it by the Popes Legate, who at that time was Innocentius the 4. about the yeere 1246. which was very much misliked by the Russe people, being then a part of the Easterne or Greeke Church. Since that time the name of this city hath growen more famous, & better knowne to the world: insomuch that not only the province, but the whole Countrey of Russia is termed by some by the name of Moscovia the Metropolitane city. The forme of this City is in maner round with 3. strong wals, circuling the one within the other, & streets lying betwene, whereof the inmost wall, and the buildings closed within it (lying safest as the heart within the body, fenced and watred with the river Moscua, that runneth close by it) is all accompted the Emperors castle. The number of houses (as I have heard) through the whole Citie (being reckoned by the Emperor a litle before it was fired by the Crim) was 41500. in all. Since the Tartar besieged and fired the towne (which was in the yere 1571.) there lieth waste of it a great breadth of ground, which before was wel set and planted with buildings, specially that part on the South side of Moscua, built not long before by Basilius the Emperor for his garison of souldiers, to whom he gave priviledge to drinke Mead, and beere at the dry or prohibited times, when other Russes may drinke nothing but water, and for that cause called this new city by the name of Naloi, that is skinck or poure in. So that now the city of Mosco is not much bigger then the city of London. The next in greatnes, & in a maner as large, is the citie Novograd: where was committed (as the Russe saith) the memorable warre so much spoke of in stories of the Scythians servants, that tooke armes against their masters: which they report in this sort: viz. That the Boiarens or gentlemen of Novograd & the territory about (which only are souldiers after the discipline of those countreis) had war with the Tartars. Which being wel performed & ended by them, they returned homewards. Where they understood by the way that their Cholohey or bondslaves whom they left at home, had in their absence possessed their townes, lands, houses, wives and all. At which newes being somewhat amased, and yet disdeining the villany of their

servants, they made the more speed home: and so not far from Novograd met them in warlike maner marching against them. Whereupon advising what was best to be done, they agreed all to set upon them with no other shew of weapon but with their horse whips (which as their maner is every man rideth withal) to put them in remembrance of their servile condition, thereby to terrifie them, & abate their courage. And so marching on & lashing al together with their whips in their hands they gave the onset. Which seemed so terrible in the eares of their villaines, and stroke such a sense into them of the smart of the whip which they had felt before, that they fled altogether like sheepe before the drivers. In memory of this victory the Novogradians ever since have stamped their coine (which they cal a dingoe Novogrodskoy currant through al Russia) with the figure of a horsman shaking a whip aloft in his hand. These 2. cities exceed ye rest in greatnes. For strength their chiefe townes are Vobsko, Smolensko, Cazan & Astracan, as lying upon the borders. But for situation Jaraslave far exceedeth the rest. For besides the commodities that the soile yeeldeth of pasture and corne, it lieth upon the famous river of Volgha, & looketh over it from a high banke very faire & stately to behold: whereof the towne taketh the name. For Jaraslave in that tongue signifieth as much as a faire or famous banke. In this towne (as may be ghessed by the name) dwelt the Russe king Vladimir sirnamed Jaraslave, that married the daughter of Harald king of England, by mediation of Sveno the Dane, as is noted in the Danish story about the yere 1067.

The other townes have nothing y^t is greatly memorable, save many ruines within their wals. The streets of their cities and townes in stead of paving are planked with fir trees, plained & layd even close the one to the other. Their houses are of wood without any lime or stone, built very close and warme with firre trees plained and piled one upon another. They are fastened together with dents or notches at every corner, & so clasped fast together. Betwixt the trees or timber they thrust in mosse (whereof they gather plenty in their woods) to keep out the aire. Every house hath a paire of staires that lead up into the chambers out of the yard or streat after the Scottish maner. This building seemeth far

better for their countrey, then that of stone or bricke; as being colder & more dampish then their wooden houses, specially of firre, that is a dry & warme wood. Wherof the providence of God hath given them such store, as that you may build a faire house for 20. or 30. rubbles or litle more, where wood is most scant. The greatest inconvenience of their wodden building is the aptnesse for firing, which happeneth very oft & in very fearful sort, by reason of the drinesse and fatnes of the fir, that being once fired, burneth like a torch, & is hardly quenched til all be burnt up.

Of the maner of Crowning or Inauguration of the Russe Emperours.

THE solemnities used at ye Russe Emperors coronation, are on this maner. In the great church of Precheste (or our Lady) within the Emperors castle is erected a stage whereon standeth a scrine that beareth upon it the Imperial cap & robe of very rich stuffe. When the day of the Inauguration is come, there resort thither, first the Patriarch w^t the Metropolitanes, archbishops, bishops, abbots and priors, al richly clad in their pontificalibus. Then enter the Deacons with the quier of singers. Who so soone as the Emperor setteth foot into ye church, begin to sing: Many yeres may live noble Theodore Ivanowich, &c.: Whereunto the patriarch and Metropolitane with the rest of the cleargy answeare with a certaine hymne, in forme of a praier, singing it altogether with a great noise. The hymne being ended, the patriarch with the Emperor mount up the stage, where standeth a seat ready for the Emperor. Whereupon the patriarch willeth him to sit downe, & then placing himself by him upon another seat provided for y^t purpose, boweth downe his head towards ye ground, and saith this prayer: Oh Lord God king of kings, Lord of lords, which by thy prophet Samuel didst chose thy servant David, & annoynt him for King over thy people Israel, heare now our prayer, & looke from thy sanctuary upon this thy servant Theodore, whom thou hast chosen and exalted for king over these thy holy nations, anoint him with the oile of gladnes, protect by thy power, put upon his head a crowne of gold & precious stones, give him length of dayes, place him in the seat of Justice, strengthen his arme, make

subject unto him all the barbarous nations. Let thy feare be in his whole heart, turne him from an evill faith, and all errour, and shewe him the salvation of thy holy and universal Church, that he may judge thy people with Justice, & protect the children of the poore, and finally atteine everlasting life. This prayer he speaketh with a low voice, and then pronounceth aloud: Al praise and power to God the Father, the Sonne, and the holy Ghost. The prayer being ended, he commandeth certaine Abbots to reach the imperiall roabe & cap: which is done very decently, and with great solemnitie, the Patriarch withal pronouncing aloud: Peace be unto all. And so he beginneth another prayer to this effect: Bow your selves together with us, and pray to him that reigneth over all. Preserve him (oh Lord) under thy holy protection, keepe him that hee may doe good and holy things, let Justice shine forth in his dayes, that we may live quietly without strife and malice. This is pronounced somewhat softly by the Patriarch, whereto hee addeth againe aloud: Thou art the king of the whole world, and the saviour of our soules, to thee the Father, Sonne and Holy ghost be al praise for ever and ever. Amen. Then putting on the roabe and the cap, he blesseth the Emperour with the signe of the crosse, saying withall: In the name of the Father, the Sonne and the Holy ghost. The like is done by the Metropolitans, Archbishops, and Bishops: who all in their order come to the chaire, and one after another blesse the Emperour with their two forefingers. Then is sayd by the Patriarch another prayer, that beginneth: Oh most holy virgin, mother of God &c. After which a Deacon pronounceth with a loude voice: Many yeres to noble Theodore, good, honourable, beloved of God, great Duke of Volodemer, of Mosco, Emperour, and Monarch of all Russia, &c. Whereto the other Priests and Deacons that stand somewhat farre of by the altar or table, answeare singing: Many yeres, many yeres to the noble Theodore. The same note is taken up by the Priests and Deacons, that are placed at the right and left side of the Church, and then altogether, they chaunt and thunder out, singing: Many yeares to the noble Theodore, good, honourable, beloved of God, great Duke of Volodomer, Mosco, Emperour of all Russia, &c. These solemnities being ended, first commeth the Patriarch with the Metropolitans, Archbishops, and Bishops,

then the Nobility, and the whole company in their order, to doe homage to the Emperour, bending downe their heads, and knocking them at his feete to the very ground.

The stile wherewith he is invested at his Coronation,
runneth after this maner.

THEODORE IVANOWICH, by the grace of God great Lord and Emperour of all Russia, great Duke of Volodemer, Mosco, and Novogrod, King of Cazan, King of Astracan, Lord of Plesco, and great duke of Smolensco, of Twerria, Joughoria, Permia, Vadska, Bulghoria, and others, Lord and great Duke of Novogrod of the Low countrey, of Chernigo, Rezan, Polotskoy, Rostove, Yaruslaveley, Bealozera, Liefland, Oudoria, Obdoria, and Condensa, Commander of all Siberia, and of the North parts, and Lord of many other Countreis, &c.

This stile conteineth in it all the Emperours Provinces, and setteth foorth his greatnesse. And therefore they have a great delight and pride in it, forcing not onely their owne people but also strangers (that have any matter to deliver to the Emperour by speech or writing) to repeate the whole forme from the beginning to the end. Which breedeth much cavill, and sometimes quarell betwixt them and the Tartar, and Poland Ambassadors : who refuse to call him Czar, that is Emperour, and to repeate the other parts of his long stile. My selfe when I had audience of the Emperour, thought good to salute him only with thus much vz. Emperour of all Russia, great Duke of Volodomer, Mosco and Novogrod, King of Cazan, King of Astracan. The rest I omitted of purpose, because I knew they gloried, to have their stile appeare to be of a larger volume then the Queenes of England. But this was taken in so ill part, that the Chancelour (who then attended the Emperour, with the rest of the nobility) with a loude chafing voice, called still upon me to say out the rest. Whereto I answered, that the Emperours stile was very long, and could not so well be remembred by strangers, that I had repeated so much of it, as might shew that I gave honour to the rest &c. But all would not serve till I commanded my interpreter to say it all out.

Their forces for the wars, with the chief officers and their salaries.

THE Souldiers of Russia are called Sinaboyarskey, or the sons of Gentlemen: because they are all of that degree, by vertue of their military profession. For every souldier in Russia is a gentleman, and none are gentlemen, but only the souldiers, that take it by discent from their ancestors: so that the sonne of a gentleman (which is borne a souldier) is ever a gentleman, and a souldier withall, & professeth nothing els but military matters. When they are of yeres able to beare armes, they come to the office of Roserade or great Constable, and there present themselves: who entreth their names, and allotteth them certaine lands to maintaine their charges, for the most part the same that their fathers enjoyed. For the lands assigned to maintaine the army, are ever certain, annexed to this office without improving, or detracting one foot. But that if the Emperour have sufficient in wages, the roomes being full so farre as the land doeth extend already, they are many times deferred, and have nothing allowed them, except some one portion of the land be devided into two. The whole number of his souldiers in continuall pay, is this. First he hath his Dworaney, that is, Pensioners, or Gard of his person, to the number of 15000 horsemen, with their captaines and other officers, that are alwaies in a readines.

Of these 15000 horsemen, there are three sorts or degrees, which differ as well in estimation as in wages, one degree from another. The first sort of them is called Dworaney Bulshey, or the company of head Pensioners, that have some an hundred, some fourescore rubbles a yeare, and none under 70. The second sort are called Seredney Dworaney, or the middle ranke of Pensioners. These have sixty or fifty rubbles by the yeare, none under fortie. The third and lowest sort, are the Dyta Boiarskey, that is, the low Pensioners. Their salary is thirty rubbles a yere for him that hath most, some have but 25, some 20, none under 12. Wherof the halfe part is paid them at the Mosco, the other halfe in the field by the general, when they have any wars, & are imploied in service. When they receive their whole pay, it amounteth to 55000 rubbles by the yere.

And this is their wages, besides lands allotted to every one of them, both to the greater and the lesse, according to their degrees. Whereof he that hath least, hath to yeelde him twentie rubbles or markes by the yeare. Besides these 15000 horsemen, that are of better choyce (as being the Emperors owne gard when himselfe goeth to the wars, not unlike the Romane souldiers called *Prætoriani*) are a hundred and ten men of speciall account for their Nobilitie, and trust, which are chosen by the Emperor, and have their names registred, that find among them for the Emperors wars, to the number of 65000. horsemen, with all necessities meet for the wars after the Russe maner.

To this end they have yerely allowance made by the Emperor for themselves, and their companies, to the summe of 40000 rubbles. And these 65000 are to repayre to the field every yeare on the borders towards the Crim Tartar (except they be appointed for some other service) whether there be wars with the Tartars, or not. This might seeme peradventure somewhat dangerous for some state, to have so great forces under the command of Noblemen to assemble every yere to one certain place. But the matter is so used, as that no danger can growe to the Emperor, or his state by this means. First, because these noblemen are many, to wit, an 110. in al, & changed by the Emperor so oft as he thinketh good. Secondly, because they have their livings of the Emperor, being otherwise but of very small revenue, and receive this yerely pay of 40000 rubbles, when it is presently to be payd forth againe to the souldiers that are under them. Thirdly, because for the most part they are about the Emperors person being of his Counsel, either speciall, or at large. Fourthly, they are rather as paymasters, then Captaines to their companies, themselves not going forth ordinarily to the wars, save when some of them are appointed by speciall order from the Emperor himselfe. So the whole number of horsemen that are ever in a readinesse, and in continuall pay, are 80000, a few more or lesse.

If he have neede of a greater number (which seldome falleth out) then he enterteineth of those *Sinaboiarskey*, that are out of pay, so many as he needeth: and if yet he want of his number, he giveth charge to his Noblemen, that hold lands of him to bring into the field every man

a proportionable number of his servants (called Kolophey, such as till his lands) with their furniture, according to the just number that he intendeth to make. Which the service being done, presently lay in their weapons, and returne to their servile occupations againe.

Of footemen that are in continuall pay, he hath to the number of 12000 all gunners, called Strelsey: Whereof 5000 are to attend about the citie of Mosco, or any other place where the Emperor shall abide, and 2000 (which are called Stremaney Strelsey, or gunners at the stirrop) about his owne person at the very Court or house where himselfe lodgeth. The rest are placed in his garison townes, till there be occasion to have them in the field, and receive for their salarie or stipend every man seven rubbles a yeare, besides twelve measures a piece of Rye, and Oates. Of mercenary Souldiers, that are strangers (whom they call Nimschoy) they have at this time 4300 of Polonians: of Chirchasses (that are under the Polonians) about 4000, wherof 3500 are abroad in his garisons: of Doutches & Scots about 150: of Greekes, Turks, Danes and Swedens, all in one band, an 100 or thereabouts. But these they use onely upon the Tartar side, and against the Siberians: as they doe the Tartar souldiers (whom they hire sometimes, but only for the present) on the other side against the Polonian and Sweden: thinking it best policie to use their service upon the contrary border.

The chiefe Captaines or leaders of these forces, according to their names and degrees, are these which follow. First, the Voyavoda Bulshaia, that is, the Great Captaine, or Lieutenant general under the Emperor. This commonly is one of the foure houses of the chiefe Nobility of the land. Their great Voiavod or general at this present in their wars, is commonly one of these foure: Knez Feodor Ivanowich Methisloskey, Knez Ivan Michalowich Glinskoy, Cherechaskoy, and Trowbetskoy, all of great nobilitie. Next unto the Voiavod or general there is some other placed as Lieutenant general, being a man of great valour and experience in the wars, who ordereth all things that the other countenanceth. At this time their principal man, & most used in their wars, is one Knez Demetrie Ivanowich Forestine, an ancient and expert captaine, and one that hath done great service (as they say) against the Tartar and Polonian. Next under the Voiavod and

his Lieutenant general are foure other that have the marshalling of the whole army devided among them, and may be called the marshals of the field.

Every man hath his quarter, or fourth part under him. Whereof the first is called the Prava Polskoy, or right wing. The second is the Levoy Polskoy, or left wing. The third is Rusnoy Polskoy, or the broken band, because out of this there are chosen to send abroad upon any sodaine exploit, or to make a rescue or supplie, as occasion doth require. The fourth Storoshovoy Polskoy, or the warding band. Every one of these foure Marshals have two other under them (eight in all) that twice every weeke at the least must muster and traine their several wings or bands, and hold and give justice for all faults, and disorders committed in the campe.

And these eight are commonly chosen out of the 110. (which I spake of before) that receive & deliver the pay to the souldiers. Under these eight are divers other Captaines, as the Gulavoy, Captaines of thousands five hundreds and 100. The Petyde Setskoy or Captains of fifties, and the Decetskies or Captains of tennes.

Besides the Voiavoda or general of the armie (spoken of before) they have two other that beare the name of Voiavoda, whereof one is the master of the great Ordinance (called Naradna voiavoda) who hath divers under officers, necessary for that service. The other is called the Voiavoda gulavoy, or the walking Captaine, that hath allowed him 1000 good horsemen of principall choyce, to range & spie abroad, & hath the charge of the running Castle, which we are to speake of in the Chapter following. Al these Captains, & men of charge must once every day resort to the Bulsha voiavoda, or General of the armie, to know his pleasure, & to informe him, if there be any requisite matter pertaining to their office.

Of their mustering, and levying of forces, maner of armour, and provision of victuall for the warres.

WHEN wars are towards (which they faile not of lightly every yere with the Tartar, & many times with the Polonian & Sweden) the foure Lords of the Chetfirds send forth their summons in the Emperors name, to all the Dukes and Dyacks of the Provinces, to be proclaimed in the head townes of every Shire: that al the Sinaboiarskey, or sonnes of gentlemen make their repaire to

such a border where the service is to be done, at such a place, & by such a day, and there present themselves to such, & such Captaines. When they come to the place assigned them in the summons or proclamation, their names are taken by certaine officers that have commission for that purpose from the Roserade, or high Constable, as Clarkes of the bands. If any make default & faile at the day, he is mulcted, & punished very severely. As for the General & other chief Captaines, they are sent thither from the Emperors owne hand, with such Commission & charge as he thinketh behoofull for the present service. When the souldiers are assembled, they are reduced into their bands, & companies, under their several Captaines of tennes, fifties, hundreds, thousands, &c. and these bands into 4 Polskeis, or Legions (but of farre greater numbers then the Romane Legions were) under their foure great Leaders, which also have the authoritie of Marshals of the field (as was sayd before.)

Concerning their armour they are but slightly appointed. The common horseman hath nothing els but his bow in his case under his right arme, & his quiver & sword hanging on the left side: except some fewe that beare a case of dagges, or a Javelin, or short staffe along their horse side. The under captains wil have commonly some piece of armour besides, as a shirt of male, or such like. The General with the other chiefe captaines & men of Nobilitie wil have their horse very richly furnished, their saddles of cloth of gold, their bridles fair bossed & tasselled with gold, & silk fringe, bestudded with pearle & precious stones, themselves in very faire armor, which they cal Bullatnoy, made of faire shining steele, yet covered commonly with cloth of golde, and edged round with armin furre, his steele helmet on his head of a very great price, his sword bow and arrowes at his side, his speare in his hand, with another faire helmet, and Shesta pera, or horsemans scepter carried before him. Their swords, bowes, and arrowes are of the Turkish fashion. They practise like the Tartar to shoote forwards and backwards, as they flie and retire.

The Strelsey or footeman hath nothing but his piece in his hand, his striking hatchet at his back, & his sword by his side. The stock of his piece is not made caliever-wise, but with a plaine & straitte stocke (somewhat like a fouling piece) the barrel is rudely & unartificially made,

very heavie yet shooteth but a very small bullet. As for their provision of victual, the Emperour alloweth none, either for Captaine or souldiour, neither provideth any for them except peradventure some corne for their money. Every man is to bring sufficient for himselfe, to serve his turne for foure moneths, & if neede require to give order for more to be brought unto him to the Campe from his tenant that tilleth his land, or some other place. One great helpe they have, that for lodging and diet every Russe is prepared to be a souldier beforehand. Though the chiefe Captains & other of account cary tents with them after the fashion of ours, with some better provision of victual then the rest. They bring with them commonly into the Campe for victuall a kind of dried bread, (which they call Suchary) with some store of meale, which they temper with water, and so make it into a ball, or small lumpe of dowe, called Tollockno. And this they eate rawe in stead of bread. Their meat is bacon, or some other flesh or fish dried, after the Dutch maner. If the Russe souldier were as hardy to execute an enterprise, as he is hard to beare out toyle and travell, or were otherwise as apt and well trained for the warres, as he is indifferent for his lodging and diet, hee would farre exceede the souldiers of our parts.

Of their marching, charging, and other Martial discipline.

THE Russe trusteth rather to his number, then to the valure of his souldiers, or good ordering of his forces. Their marching or leading is without al order, save that the foure Polskey or Legions, (wherinto their armie is devided) keepe themselves severall under their ensignes, & so thrust all on together in a hurrey, as they are directed by their Generall. Their Ensigne is the image of S. George. The Bulsha Dworaney or chiefe horsemen, have every man a small drum of brasse at his saddle bowe, which he striketh when he giveth the charge, or onset.

They have drummes besides of a huge bignes, which they cary with them upon a boord layde on foure horses, that are sparred together with chaines, every drumme having eight strikers, or drummers, besides trumpets and shawmes, which they sound after a wilde maner, much different from ours. When they give any charge, or

make any invasion, they make a great hallow or shoute altogether, as lowd as they can, which with the sound of their trumpets, shawmes, and drummes, maketh a confused and horrible noyse. So they set on first discharging their arrowes, then dealing with their swordes, which they use in a braverie to shake, and brandish over their heads, before they come to strokes.

Their footmen (because otherwise they want order in leading) are commonly placed in some ambush or place of advantage, where they may most annoy the enemy, with least hurt to themselves. If it be a set battell, or if any great invasion be made upon the Russe borders by the Tartar, they are set within ye running or moving Castle (called Beza, or Gulaygorod) which is caried about with them by the Voiavoda gulavoy (or the walking General) whom I spake of before. This walking or mooving Castle is so framed, that it may be set up in length (as occasion doeth require) the space of one, two, three, foure, five, sixe, or seven miles: for so long it will reach. It is nothing els but a double wall of wood to defend them on both sides behinde and before, with a space of three yards or thereabouts, betwixt the two sides: so that they may stand within it, and have roome enough to charge and discharge their pieces, and to use their other weapons. It is closed at both ends, and made with loope holes on either side, to lay out the nose of their piece, or to push foorth any other weapon. It is caried with the armie wheresoever it goeth, being taken into pieces, and so layde on cartes sparrd together, and drawn by horse that are not seene, by reason that they are covered with their cariage as with a shelve or pent-house. When it is brought to the place where it is to be used (which is devised and chosen out before by the walking Voiavod) it is planted so much as the present use requireth, sometime a mile long, sometimes two, sometimes three or more: Which is soone done without the helpe of any Carpenter, or instrument: because the timber is so framed to claspe together one piece within another: as is easily understoode by those that know the maner of the Russe building.

In this Castle standeth their shot wel fenced for advantage, specially against the Tartar, that bringeth no ordinance, nor other weapon into the field with him, save his sword, and bow, and arrowes. They have also within

it divers field pieces, which they use as occasion doth require. Of pieces for the field they carie no great store, when they warre against the Tartar: but when they deale with the Polonian (of whose forces they make more account) they go better furnished with all kind of munition, and other necessarie provisions. It is thought that no Prince of Christendome hath better store of munition, then the Russe Emperour. And it may partly appeare by the Artillery house at Mosco, where are of all sortes of great Ordinance, all brasse pieces, very faire, to an exceeding great number.

The Russe souldier is thought to be better at his defence within some castle or towne, then he is abroad at a set pitched field. Which is ever noted in the practise of his warres, and namely at the siege of Vobsko, about eight yeres since: where he repulsed the Polonian king Stepan Batore, with his whole armie of 100000 men, and forced him in the end to give over his siege, with the losse of many of his best Captaines and souldiers. But in a set field the Russe is noted to have ever the worse of the Polonian and Sweden.

If any behave himselfe more valiantly then the rest, or do any special piece of service, the Emperour sendeth him a piece of golde, stamped with the Image of Saint George on horsebacke. Which they hang on their sleeves, & set in their caps. And this is accounted the greatest honour they can receive, for any service they doe.

Of their Colonies, and maintaining of their conquests,
or purchases by force.

THE Russe Emperors of late yeres have very much enlarged their dominions, & territories. Their first conquest after the Dukedome of Mosco, (for before that time they were but Dukes of Volodomer, as before was said) was the citie, & Dukedome of Novogrod on ye West, and Northwest side: which was no smal enlargement of their dominion, & strengthening to them for the winning of the rest. This was done by Ivan great grandfather to Theodor now Emperour, about the yere 1480. The same began likewise to encroach upon the countries of Lituania and Livonia, but the conquest only intended, & attempted by him, upon some part of those countries, was pursued & performed by his sonne Basileus, who first wan the citie & dukedom of Plesko, afterwards the citie & duke-

dome of Smolensco, & many other faire towns, with a large territory belonging unto them, about the yere 1514. These victories against the Lettoes or Lituaniens, in the time of Alexander their duke, he atchieved rather by advantage of civil dissentions, & treasons among themselves, then by any great policie, or force of his own. But al this was lost againe by his son Ivan Vasiliwich, about 8 or 9 yeres past, upon composition with ye Polonian king Stephan Batore: wherunto he was forced by the advantages which the Pole had then of him, by reason of the foile he had given him before, and the disquietnes of his own state at home. Onely the Russe Emperor, at this time hath left him on that side his countrey, the cities of Smolensco, Vobsko, Chernigo, & Bealagorod in Lituania. In Livonia, not a towne nor one foot of ground.

When Basilius first conquered those countries, he suffered then the natives to keepe their possessions, and to inhabite all their townes, onely paying him a tribute, under the governement of his Russe Captaines. But by their conspiracies & attempts not long after, he was taught to deale more surely with them. And so comming upon them the second time, he killed and caried away with him, three parts of foure, which he gave or sold to the Tartars that served him in those wars, and in stead of them placed there his Russes, so many as might overmatch the rest, with certaine garisons of strength besides. Wherein notwithstanding this oversight was committed, for that (taking away with him the upland, or countrey people that should have tilled the ground, & might easily have bene kept in order without any danger, by other good policies) he was driven afterwards may yeres together, to vitaille the countrey (specially the great townes) out of his owne countrey of Russia, the soile lying there in the meane while wast, and untilled.

The like fell out at the port of Narve in Liefland, where his sonne Ivan Vasiliwich devised to build a towne, and a castle on the other side the river, (called Ivangorod) to keepe the towne and countrey in subjection. The castle he caused to be so built and fortified, that it was thought to be invincible. And when it was furnished, for reward to the Architect (that was a Polonian) he put out both his eyes, to make him unable to build the like againe. But having left the natives all within their owne countrey,

without abating their number or strength, the towne and castle not long after was betrayed, and surrendred againe to the king of Sweden.

On the Southeast side, they have got the kingdomes of Cazan, and Astracan. These were wonne from the Tartar, by the late Emperour Ivan Vasiliwich, the one about thirtie five, the other about thirtie and three yeares agoe. Northward out of the countrey of Siberia, he hath layed unto his realme a great breadth and length of ground, from Wichida to the river of Obba, about a 1000 miles space: so that he is bolde to write himselfe now, The great Commander of Siberia. The countries likewise of Permia and Pechora are a divers people and language from the Russe, overcome not long since, and that rather by threatning, and shaking of the sword, then by any actuall force: as being a weake and naked people, without meanes to resist.

That which the Russe hath in his present possession, he keepeth on this sort. In his foure chief border townes of Vobsko, Smolensko, Astracan, and Cazan, he hath certaine of his counsel not of greatest nobility, but of greatest trust, which have more authoritie within their precincts, (for the countenancing and strengthening of their government there) then the other Dukes that are set to governe in other places, as was noted before, in the maner of ordering their Provinces. These he changeth sometime every yere, sometime every second or third yere, but exceedeth not that time, except upon very speciall trust, and good liking of the party, and his service: least by enlarging of their time, they might grow into some familiaritie with the enemye (as some have done) being so farre out of sight.

The townes besides are very strongly fenced with trenches, castles, & store of munition, and have garisons within them, to the number of two or three thousand a piece. They are stored with victual if any siege should come upon them, for the space of two or three yeres before hand. The foure castles of Smolensko, Vobsko, Cazan and Astracan, he hath made very strong to beare out any siege: so that it is thought that those townes are impregnable.

As for the countries of Pechora and Permia, and that part of Siberia, which he hath now under him, they are kept by as easie meanes, as they were first got. vz.

rather by shewing, then by using of armes. First, he hath stored the cuntry with as many Russes as there are natives, & hath there some few souldiers in garison, inough to keepe them under. Secondly, his officers & Magistrates there are of his own Russe people, and he changeth them very often, vz. every yere twice or thrise: notwithstanding there be no great feare of any innovation. Thirdly, he devideth them into many smal governments, like a staffe broke in many small pieces: so y^t they have no strength being severed, which was but litle neither when they were al in one. Fourthly, he provideth that the people of the cuntry have neither armor, nor money, being taxed & pilled so often as he thinketh good: without any meanes to shake off that yoke, or to relieve themselves.

In Siberia (where he goeth on in pursuing his conquest) he hath divers castles & garisons to the number of 6000 souldiers of Russes & Polonians, & sendeth many new supplies thither, to plant and to inhabite, as he winneth ground. At this time besides he hath gotten the kings brother of Siberia, allured by certaine of his captaines, to leave his own country by offers of great entertainment, and plesanter life with the Russe Emperor, then he had in Siberia. He was brought in this last yere, and is now with the Emperor at Mosco well entertained.

Of the Tartars, and other borderers to the country of Russia, with whom they have most to doe in warre, and peace.

THEIR neighbors with whom they have greatest dealings & intercourse, both in peace & war, are first the Tartar. Secondly the Polonian whom the Russe calleth Laches, noting the first author or founder of the nation, who was called Laches or Leches, wherunto is added Po, which signifieth People, and so is made Polaches, that is, the People or posterity of Laches: which the Latins after their maner of writing cal Polonos. The third are the Swedens. The Polonians & Swedens are better known to these parts of Europe then are the Tartars, that are farther off from us (as being of Asia) and divided into many tribes, different in name, and government one from another. The greatest and mightiest of them is the Chrim Tartar, (whom some call the Great Can) that lieth

South, & Southeastward from Russia, and doth most annoy the country by often invasions, commonly once every yere, sometimes entring very farre within the inland parts. In the yere 1571 he came as farre as the citie of Mosco, with an armie of 200000 men, without any battel, or resistance at al, for that the Russe Emperor (then Ivan Vasiliwich) leading forth his armie to encounter with him, marched a wrong way. The citie he tooke not, but fired the suburbs, which by reason of the buildings (which are all of wood without any stone, brick, or lime, save certeine out roomes) kindled so quickly, and went on with such rage, as that it consumed the greatest part of the citie almost within the space of foure houres, being of 30 miles or more of compasse. Then might you have seene a lamentable spectacle: besides the huge & mighty flame of the citie all on light fire, the people burning in their houses and streetes, but most of all of such as laboured to passe out of the gates farthest from the enemie, where meeting together in a mighty throng, & so pressing every man to prevent another, wedged themselves so fast within the gate, and streetes neere unto it, as that three rankes walked one upon the others head, the uppermost treading downe those that were lower: so that there perished at that time (as was said) by the fire & the presse, the number of 800000 people or more.

The principall cause of this continual quarell betwixt the Russe & the Chrim is for the right of certaine border partes claimed by the Tartar, but possessed by the Russe. The Tartar alleageth that besides Astracan and Cazan (that are the ancient possession of the East Tartar) the whole countrey from his bounds North and Westward so farre as the citie of Mosko, and Mosko it selfe pertaineth to his right. Which seemeth to have bene true by the report of the Russes them selves, that tell of a certaine homage that was done by the Russe Emperour every yere to the great Chrim or Can, the Russe Emperour standing on foot and feeding the Chrims horse, (himselfe sitting on his backe) with oates out of his owne cappe, in stead of a bowle or manger, and that within the castle of Mosko. And this homage (they say) was done till the time of Basileus grandfather to this man. Who surprising the Chrim Emperour by a stratageme done by one of his nobilitie (called Ivan Demetrowich Belschey) was content with this raunsome, viz. with the changing of

this homage into a tribute of fures: which afterwards also was denied to be payde by this Emperors father.

Hereupon they continue ye quarrel, the Russe defending his countrey, & that which he hath won, ye Chrim Tartar invading him once or twice every yere, sometime about Whitsontide, but oftner in harvest. What time if the great Can or Chrim come in his owne person, he bringeth with him a great armie of 100000. or 200000. men. Otherwise they make short & sudden rodes into the countrey with lesser numbers, running about the list of the border as wild geese flie, invading and retiring where they see advantage.

Their common practise (being very populous) is to make divers armies, and so drawing the Russe to one or two places of the frontiers, to invade at some other place, that is left without defence. Their maner of fight, or ordering of their forces is much after the Russe maner (spoken of before) save that they are all horsemen, and carie nothing els but a bowe, a sheafe of arrowes, and a falcon sword after the Turkish fashion. They are very expert horsemen, and use to shoote as readily backward as forward. Some wil have a horsmans staffe like to a bore speare, besides their other weapons. The common souldier hath no other armour then his ordinary apparell, viz. a blacke sheeps skin with the wool side outward in the day time, and inwarde in the night time, with a cap of the same. But their Morseys or noblemen imitate the Turk both in apparel and armour. When they are to passe over a river with their armie, they tie three or foure horses together, and taking long poles or pieces of wood, bind them fast to the tailes of their horse: so sitting on the poles they drive their horse over. At handie strokes (when they joyne battell) they are accounted farre better men then the Russe people, fierce by nature, but more hardy and bloody by continuall practise of warre: as men knowing no artes of peace, nor any civil practise.

Yet their subtilty is more then may seeme to agree with their barbarous condition. By reason they are practised to invade continually, and to robbe their neighbours that border about them, they are very pregnant, and ready witted to devise stratagems upon the sudden for their better advantage. As in their warre against Beala the fourth, king of Hungarie, whome they invaded with 500000. men, and obtained against him a great

victorie. Where, among other, having slaine his Chancellor called Nicholas Schinick, they found about him the kings privy seale. Whereupon they devised presently to counterfeit letters in the kings name, to the cities and townes next about the place, where the field was fought: with charge that in no case they should convey themselves, and their goods out of their dwellings, where they might abide safely without all feare of danger, and not leave the countrey desolate to the possession of so vile and barbarous an enemy, as was the Tartar nation, terming themselves in all reprochful maner. For notwithstanding he had lost his carriages, with some few straglers that had marched disorderly, yet he doubted not but to recover that losse, with the accesse of a notable victorie, if the savage Tartar durst abide him in the field. To this purpose having written their letters in the Polish character, by certaine yong men whom they tooke in the field, and signed them with the Kings seale, they dispatched them forth to all the quarters of Hungaria, that lay neere about the place. Whereupon the Ungarians that were now flying away with their goods, wives, and children, upon the rumour of the kings overthrow, taking comfort of these counterfeit letters, staid at home. And so were made a pray, being surprised on the sudden by this huge number of these Tartars, that had compassed them about before they were aware.

When they besiege a towne or fort, they offer much parle, and send many flattering messages to perswade a surrendry: promising all things that the inhabitants will require: but being once possessed of the place, they use all maner of hostilitie, and crueltie. This they doe upon a rule they have, vz. that justice is to be practised but towards their owne. They encounter not lightly, but they have some ambush, whereunto (having once shewed themselves, and made some short conflict) they retire as repulsed for feare, and so draw the enemy into it if they can. But the Russe being well acquainted with their practise is more warie of them. When they come a roving with some small number, they set on horsebacke counterfaite shapes of men, that their number may seeme greater.

When they make any onset, their maner is to make a great shoute, crying all out together Olla Billa, Olla Billa, God helpe us, God help us. They contemne death so

much, as that they chuse rather to die, then to yeeld to their enemie, and are seene when they are slain to bite the very weapon, when they are past striking or helping of themselves. Wherein appeareth how different the Tartar is in his desperate courage from the Russe and Turke. For the Russe souldier, if he begin once to retire, putteth all his safetie in his speedy flight. And if once he be taken by his enemy, he neither defendeth himselfe, nor intreateth for his life, as reckoning straight to die. The Turk commonly, when he is past hope of escaping, falleth to intreatie, and casteth away his weapon, offereth both his hands, and holdeth them, as it were to be tied: hoping to save his life, by offering himselfe bonds slave.

The chiefe bootie the Tartars seeke for in all their warres is to get store of captives, specially young boyes and girles, whome they sell to the Turkes, or other their neighbours. To this purpose they take with them great baskets made like bakers panniers to carry them tenderly, and if any of them happen to tire, or to be sicke by the way, they dash him against the ground, or some tree, and so leave him dead. The Souldiers are not troubled with keeping the captives and the other bootie, for hindering the execution of their warres, but they have certaine bandes that intend nothing else, appoynted of purpose to receive and keepe the captives and the other praye.

The Russe borderers (being used to their invasions lightly every yere in the Sommer) keepe fewe other cattell on the border partes, save swine onely which the Tartar will not touch, nor drive away with him: for that he is of the Turkish religion, and will eate no swines flesh. Of Christ our Saviour they confesse as much as doeth the Turke in his Alkaron, viz. that he came of the Angel Gabriel and the Virgin Marie, that he was a great Prophet, and shall be the Judge of the worlde at the last day. In other matter likewise, they are much ordered after the manner and direction of the Turke: having felt the Turkish forces when hee wonne from them Azov and Caffa, with some other townes about the Euxine or blacke Sea, that were before tributaries to the Crim Tartar. So that now the Emperour of the Crims for the most part is chosen one of the Nobility whom the Turke doeth commend: whereby it is brought nowe to passe, that the Crim Tartar giveth to the Turke the tenth part of the

spoyle which hee getteth in his warres against the Christians.

Herein they differ from the Turkish religion, for that they have certaine idole puppets made of silke, or like stuffe, of the fashion of a man, which they fasten to the doore of their walking houses, to be as Janusses or keepers of their house. And these idoles are made not by all, but by certaine religious women which they have among them for that and like uses. They have besides the image of their King or great Can, of an huge bignesse, which they erect at every stage when the army marcheth: and this every one must bend and bowe unto as he passeth by it, be he Tartar or stranger. They are much given to witchcraft, and ominous conjectures upon every accident which they heare or see.

In making of mariages they have no regard of alliance or consanguinitie. Onely with his mother, sister, and daughter a man may not marrie, and though he take the woman into his house, and accompany with her, yet he accounteth her not for his wife till he have a childe by her. Then hee beginneth to take a dowry of her friends of horse, sheepe, kine, &c. If she be barren after a certaine time, he turneth her home againe.

Under the Emperour they have certaine Dukes, whome they call Morseis or Divoymorseis, that rule over a certaine number of 10000. 20000. or 40000. a piece, which they call Hoords. When the Emperour hath any use of them to serve in his warres, they are bound to come, and to bring with them their Souldiers to a certain number, every man with his two horse at the least, the one to ride on, the other to kill, when it commeth to his turne to have his horse eaten. For their chiefe vitaille is horse flesh, which they eate without bread, or any other thing with it. So that if a Tartar be taken by a Russe, he shall be sure lightly to finde a horse-legge, or some other part of him at his saddle bowe.

This last yeere when I was at the Mosco, came in one Kiriach Morsey, nephew to the Emperour of the Crims that now is (whose father was Emperour before) accompanied with 300. Tartars, and his two wives, whereof one was his brothers widow. Where being intertained in very good sort after the Russe maner, hee had sent unto his lodging for his welcome, to bee made ready for his supper and his companies, two very large

and fat horses, ready flayed in a sled. They prefer it before other flesh, because the meate is stronger (as they say) then Beefe, Mutton, and such like. And yet (which is marveile) though they serve all as horsemen in the warres, and eate all of horse flesh, there are brought yecrely to the Mosco to bee exchanged for other commodities 30. or 40. thousand Tartar horse, which they call Cones. They keepe also great heards of kine, & flocks of blacke sheepe, rather for the skins and milke (which they carie with them in great bottels) then for the use of the flesh, though sometimes they eate of it. Some use they have of ryse, figs, and other fruits. They drinke milke or warme blood, and for the most part card them both together. They use sometime as they travel by the way, to let their horse blood in a vaine, and to drinke it warme, as it commeth from his bodie.

Townes they plant none, nor other standing buildings, but have walking houses, which the latines call Veii, built upon wheelles like a shepherds cottage. These they drawe with them whithersoever they goe, driving their cattell with them. And when they come to their stage, or standing place, they plant their carte houses verie orderly in a ranke: and so make the forme of streetes, and of a large towne. And this is the manner of the Emperor himselfe, who hath no other seat of Empire but an Agora, or towne of wood, that moveth with him whithersoever hee goeth. As for the fixed and standing building used in other countreyes, they say they are unwholesome and unpleasant.

They begin to moove their houses and cattell in the Spring time from the South part of their Countrey towards the North partes. And so driving on till they have grased all up to the farthest part Northward, they returne backe againe towards their South countrey (where they continue all the Winter) by 10. or 12. miles a stage: in the meane while the grasse being sprung up againe, to serve for their cattell as they returne. From the border of the Shalcan towards the Caspian sea, to the Russe frontiers, they have a goodly Countrey, specially on the South and Southeast parts, but lost for lacke of tillage.

Of money they have no use at all, and therefore prefer brasse and steele before other mettals, specially bullate, which they use for swordes, knives, and other necessities. As for golde and silver they neglect it of very purpose,

(as they doe all tillage of their ground) to bee more free for their wandring kinde of life, and to keepe their Countrey lesse subject to invasions. Which giveth them great advantage against all their neighbors, ever invading and never beeing invaded. Such as have taken upon them to invade their Countrey (as of oldetime Cyrus and Darius Hystaspis, on the East and Southeast side) have done it with very ill successe: as wee finde in the stories written of those times. For their manner is when any will invade them, to allure and drawe them on by flying and reculing (as if they were afraide) till they have drawn them some good way within their countrey. Then when they begin to want victuall and other necessities (as needes they must where nothing is to be had) to stoppe up the passages, and inclose them with multitudes. By which stratagem (as wee reade in Laonicus Chaleacondylas in his Turkish storie) they had welnigh surprised the great and huge armie of Tamerlan, but that hee retired with all speede hee could towards the river Tanais or Don, not without great losse of his men, and cariages.

In the storie of Pachymerius the Greeke (which hee wrote of the Emperors of Constantinople from the beginning of the reigne of Michael Palæologus to the time of Andronicus the elder) I remember he telleth to the same purpose of one Nogas a Tartarian captaine under Cazan the Emperor of the East Tartars (of whom the citie and kingdome of Cazan may seeme to have taken the denomination) who refused a present of Pearle and other jewels sent unto him from Michael Palæologus: asking withall, for what use they served, and whether they were good to keepe away sicknesse, death, or other misfortunes of this life, or no. So that it seemeth they have ever, or long time bene of that minde to value things no further, then by the use and necessitie for which they serve.

For person and complexion they have broad and flatte visages, of a tanned colour into yellowe and blacke, fierce and cruell lookes, thinne haired upon the upper lippe, and pitte of the chinne, light and nimble bodied, with short legges, as if they were made naturally for horsemen: whereto they practise themselves from their childhood, seldome going afoot about anie businesse. Their speech is verie sudden and loude, speaking as it were out of a deepe hollowe throate. When they sing you would thinke a kowe lowed, or some great bandogge

howled. Their greatest exercise is shooting, wherein they traine up their children from their verie infancie, not suffering them to eate till they have shot neere the marke within a certaine scantling. They are the very same that sometimes were called Scythæ Nomades, or the Scythian shepheards, by the Greekes and Latines. Some thinke that the Turks took their beginning from the nation of the Crim Tartars. Of which opinion is Laonicus Calcondylas the Greek Historiographer, in his first booke of his Turkish storie. Wherein hee followeth divers verie probable conjectures. The first taken from the verie name it selfe, for that the worde Turk signifieth a Shepheard or one that followeth a vagarant and wilde kinde of life. By which name these Scythian Tartars have ever beene noted, being called by the Greekes σκύθαι νόμαδες or the Scythian shepheards. His second reason because the Turkes (in his time) that dwelt in Asia the lesse, to wit, in Lydia, Caria, Phrygia and Cappadocia, spake the very same language that these Tartars did, that dwelt betwixt the river Tanais or Don, and the countrey of Sarmatia, which (as is well knowen) are these Tartars called Crims. At this time also the whole nation of the Turkes differ not much in their common speech from the Tartar language. Thirdly because the Turke and the Crim Tartar agree so well together, as well in religion, as in matter of traffique never invading, or inurying one another: save that the Turke (since Laonicus his time) hath encroched upon some Townes upon the Euxin Sea, that before pertained to the Crim Tartar. Fourthly, because Ortogules sonne to Oguzalpes, and father to Otoman the first of name of the Turkish nation made his first roads out of those parts of Asia, upon the next borderers, till hee came towards the countreys about the hill Taurus, where hee overcame the Greekes that inhabited there: and so enlarged the name and territorie of the Turkish nation, till hee came to Eubæa and Attica, and other partes of Greece. This is the opinion of Laonicus, who lived among the Turkes in the time of Amurat the sixt Turkish Emperour, about the yeere 1400. when the memorie of their originall was more fresh: and therefore the likeliør hee was to hit the trueth.

There are divers other Tartars that border upon Russia, as the Nagayes, the Cheremissens, the Mordwites, the Chircasses, and the Shalcans, which all differ in name

more then in regiment, or other condition, from the Crim Tartar, except the Chircasses that border Southwest towards Lituania, and are farre more civill than the rest of the Tartars, of a comely person, and of a stately behaviour, as applying themselves to the fashion of the Polonian. Some of them have subjected themselves to the Kings of Poland, and professe Christianitie. The Nagay lieth Eastwarde, and is reckoned for the best man of warre among all the Tartars, but verie savage, and cruell above all the rest. The Cheremessen Tartar, that lieth betwixt the Russe and the Nagay, are of two sorts, the Lugavoy (that is of the valley) and the Nagornay, or of the hilly countrey. These have much troubled the Emperours of Russia. And therefore they are content now to buy peace of them, under pretence of giving a yeerely pension of Russe commodities to their Morseys, or Divoymorseis, that are chiefe of their tribes. For which also they are bound to serve them in their wars, under certaine conditions. They are said to be just and true in their dealings: and for that cause they hate the Russe people, whom they account to be double, and false in al their dealing. And therefore the common sort are very unwilling to keepe agreement with them, but that they are kept in by their Morseis, or Dukes for their pensions sake.

The most rude & barbarous is counted the Mordwit Tartar, that hath many selfe-fashions and strange kinds of behaviour, differing from the rest. For his religion, though he acknowledge one God, yet his maner is to worship for God, that living thing y^e he first meeteth in the morning, & to sweare by it all that whole day, whether it be horse, dog, cat, or whatsoever els it bee. When his friend dieth, he killeth his best horse, and having flayed off the skinne hee carieth it on high upon a long pole before the corpes to the place of buriall. This hee doeth (as the Russe saith) that his friend may have a good horse to carie him to heaven: but it is likelier to declare his love towards his dead friend, in that he will have to die with him the best thing that he hath.

Next to the kingdome of Astracan, that is the farthest part Southeastward of the Russe dominion, lyeth the Shalcan, and the countrey of Media: whither the Russe marchants trade for rawe silkes, syndon, saphion, skinnes, and other commodities. The chiefe Townes of Media

where the Russe tradeth, are Derbent (built by Alexander the great, as the inhabitants say) and Zamachi where the staple is kept for rawe silkes. Their maner is in the Spring time to revive the silke-wormes (that lie dead all the Winter) by laying them in the warme sunne, and (to hasten their quickening that they may sooner goe to worke) to put them into bags, and so to hang them under their childrens armes. As for the woorme called Chrinisin (as wee call it Chrymson) that maketh coloured silke, it is bred not in Media, but in Assyria. This trade to Derbent and Samachi for rawe silkes, and other commodities of that Countrey, as also into Persia, and Bougharia downe the river of Volga, and through the Caspian sea, is permitted aswell to the English as to the Russe merchants, by the Emperours last grant at my being there. Which he accounteth for a very speciall favour, and might prove indeede very beneficiall to our English merchants, if the trade were wel and orderly used.

The whole nation of the Tartars are utterly voide of all learning, and without written Law: yet certaine rules they have which they hold by tradition, common to all the Hoords for the practise of their life. Which are of this sort. First, To obey their Emperour and other Magistrates, whatsoever they commaund about the publike service. 2 Except for the publike behoofe, every man to be free and out of controlment. 3 No private man to possesse any lands, but the whole countrey to be as common. 4 To neglect all daintinesse and varietie of meates, and to content themselves with that which commeth next to hand, for more hardnesse, and readines in the executing of their affaires. 5 To weare any base attire, and to patch their clothes whether there be any neede or not: that when there is neede, it be no shame to weare a patcht coate. 6 To take or steale from any stranger whatsoever they can get, as beeing enemies to all men, save to such as will subject themselves to them. 7 Towards their owne horde and nation to be true in worde and deede. 8 To suffer no stranger to come within the Realme. If any doe, the same to be bondslave to him that first taketh him, except such merchants and other as have the Tartar Bull, or passport about them.

Of the Permians, Samoites, and Lappes.

THE Permians and Samoites that lye from Russia, North and Northeast, are thought likewise to have taken their beginning from the Tartar kinde. And it may partly bee gessed by the fashion of their countenance, as having all broad and flat faces as the Tartars have, except the Chircasses. The Permians are accounted for a very ancient people. They are now subject to the Russe. They live by hunting, and trading with their fures, as also doeth the Samoite, that dwelleth more towards the North Sea. The Samoite hath his name (as the Russe saith) of eating himselfe: as if in times past, they lived as ye Cannibals, eating one another. Which they make more probable, because at this time they eate all kind of raw flesh, whatsoever it be, even the very carion that lieth in the ditch. But as the Samoites themselves will say, they were called Samoie, that is, of themselves, as though they were Indigenæ, or people bred upon that very soyle, that never changed their seate from one place to another, as most nations have done. They are subject at this time to the Emperour of Russia.

I talked with certaine of them, and finde that they acknowledge one God: but represent him by such things as they have most use and good by. And therefore they worship the Sunne, the Ollen, the Losh, and such like. As for the story of Slata Baba, or the Golden hagge, (which I have read in some mappes, and descriptions of these countries, to be an idole after the forme of an olde woman) that being demanded by the Priest, giveth them certaine Oracles, concerning the successe, and event of things, I found it to be a very fable. Onely in the Province of Obdoria upon the sea side, neare to the mouth of the great river Obba, there is a rocke, which naturally (being somewhat helped by imagination) may seeme to beare the shape of a ragged woman, with a child in her armes (as the rocke by the North Cape the shape of a Frier) where the Obdorian Samoites use much to resort, by reason of the commoditie of the place for fishing: and there sometime (as their manner is) conceive, and practise their sorceries, and ominous conjecturings about the good or bad speede of their journeies, fishings, huntings, and such like.

They are clad in Seale skins, with the hairie side out-

wards downe as low as the knees, with their breeches and netherstockes of the same, both men and women. They are all blacke haired, naturally beardlesse. And therefore the men are hardly discerned from the women by their lookes: save that the women weare a locke of haire downe along both their eares. They live in a manner a wilde and savage life, roving still from one place of the countrey to another, without any property of house or land more to one then to another. Their leader or director in every companie, is their Papa or Priest.

On the North side of Russia next to Corelia, lieth the countrey of Lappia, which reacheth in length from the farthest point Northward, (towards the Northcape) to the farthest part Southeast (which the Russe calleth Sweetnesse or Holy nose, the English men Capegrace) about 345. verst or miles. From Sweetnesse to Candelox by the way of Versega (which measureth the breadth of that countrey) is 90. miles or thereabouts. The whole countrey in a maner is either lakes, or mountaines, which towardes the Sea side are called Tondro, because they are all of harde and craggy rocke, but the inland partes are well furnished with woods that growe on the hilles sides, the lakes lying betweene. Their diet is very bare and simple. Bread they have none, but feede onely upon fish and foule. They are subject to the Emperor of Russia, and the two kings of Sweden and Denmarke: which all exact tribute and custome of them (as was saide before) but the Emperor of Russia beareth the greatest hand over them, and exacteth of them farre more then the rest. The opinion is that they were first termed Lappes of their briefe and short speech. The Russe divideth the whole nation of the Lappes into two sortes. The one they call Nowremanskoy Lapary, that is, the Norvegian Lappes because they be of the Danish religion. For the Danes and Norvegians they account for one people. The other that have no religion at all but live as brute and heathenish people, without God in the worlde, they cal Dikoy Lapary, or the wilde Lappes.

The whole nation is utterly unlearned, having not so much as the use of any Alphabet, or letter among them. For practise of witchcraft and sorcerie they passe all nations in the worlde. Though for enchanting of ships that saile along their coast, (as I have heard it reported)

and their giving of winds good to their friends, and contrary to other, whom they meane to hurt by tying of certaine knots upon a rope (somewhat like to the tale of Æolus his windbag) is a very fable, devised (as may seeme) by themselves, to terrifie sailers for comming neere their coast. Their weapons are the long bow, and handgunne, wherein they excell, aswell for quicknesse to charge and discharge, as for neerenesse at the marke by reason of their continual practise (whereto they are forced) of shooting at wild fowle. Their maner is in Sommer time to come downe in great companies to the sea side, to Wardhuysse, Cola, Keger, and the bay of Vedagoba, and there to fish for Codde, Salmon, & Butfish, which they sel to the Russes, Danes, & Norvegians, and nowe of late to the English men that trade thither with cloth, which they exchange with the Laps & Corelians for their fish, oyle, and furies, whereof also they have some store. They holde their mart at Cola on S. Peters day: what time the captaine of Wardhuysse (that is resiant there for the king of Denmark) must be present, or at least send his deputie to set prices upon their stockfish, train oile, furies, and other commodities: as also the Russe Emperors customer, or tribute taker, to receive his custome, which is ever paide before any thing can bee bought or solde. When their fishing is done, their manner is to drawe their carbasses or boates on shore, and there to leave them with the keele turned upwardes, till the next spring tide. Their travaile to and fro is upon sleddes drawn by the Olen Deere: which they use to turne a grasing all the Sommer time in an Island called Kildyn, (of a verie good soyle compared with other partes of that Countrey) and towards the Winter time, when the snowe beginneth to fall they fetch them home againe for the use of their sledde.

The description of the regions, people, and rivers, lying North and East from Moscovia: as the way from Moscovia to the river Petzora, and the Province Jugaria or Juhra, and from thence to the river Obi. Likewise the description of other countreys and regions, even unto the Empire of the great Can of Cathay, taken out of Sigismundus ab Herberstein.

THE dominion of the Prince of Moscovia, reacheth farre toward the East and North, unto the places which we

will now describe. As concerning which thing, I translated a book y^t was presented unto me in the Moscovites tongue, and have here made a briefe rehearsall of the same. I will first therefore describe the journey from *Moscovia to Petzora*, and so to *Jugaria* and *Obi*. From *Moscovia* to the citie of *Vologda*, are numbred five hundred versts, one verst conteyning almost the space of an Italian myle. From *Vologda* to *Ustiug* toward the right hand, descending with the course of the river of *Vologda* and *Suchana* with whom it joyneth, are counted five hundred verstes, where within two versts of the towne called *Strelze*, and hard by the citie of *Ustiug*, *Suchana* joyneth unto *Iug* which runneth from the South: from whose mouth unto the springs of the same, are numbred five hundred versts.

But *Suchana* and *Iug*, after they joyne together, lose their first names, and make but one river named *Dwina*, by the which the passage to the citie of *Colmogro* containeth five hundred versts, from whence, in the space of sixe dayes journey, *Dwina* entreth into the North Ocean at sixe mouthes. And the greatest part of this journey consisteth by Navigation. For by lande from *Vologda* unto *Colmogro*, passing over the river *Uvaga*, are a thousand verstes. Not farre from *Colmogro*, the river *Pienega* running from the East on the right hand for the space of seven hundred versts, falleth into *Dwina*. From *Dwina* by the river *Pienega*, by the space of two hundred versts, they come to a place called *Nicholai*, from whence within halfe a verst ships have passage into the river *Kulvio*, which hath his originall from a lake of the same name towarde the North, from whose springs is eight daies viage to the mouth of the same, where it entreth the Ocean.

Sayling by the coasts of the right hand of the sea, they passe by the regions of *Stanuwische*, *Calunczscho*, and *Apnu*: And sayling about the promontorie or cape of *Chorogoski Nosz*, *Stanuwische*, *Camenckh*, and *Tolstickh*, they come at length into the river *Mezen*, and from thence in the space of sixe dayes, to a village of the same name, standing in the mouth of the river *Pieza*, by the which againe ascending toward the left hand & sommer East, they come to the river *Piescoia*: from whence sayling for the space of five versts, they come into two lakes, in the which are seene two wayes:

whereof one on the right side, goeth to the river Rubicho, by the which they passe to the river Czircho. Other, by an other and shorter way, bring their ships from the lake directly into Czircho: from whence, except they be hindered by tempest, they come in the space of three weekes to the river and mouth of Czilma, flowing into the great river Petzora, which in that place is two versts in breadth. Sayling from thence, they come in the space of sixe dayes to the Towne and castle of Pustosero, neare unto the which, Petzora entreth into the North Ocean at sixe mouthes. The inhabitants of this place, are men of simple wit: they received the faith of Christ, and were baptised in the yeare M.D.xviii.

From the mouth of Czilma unto the mouth of the river Ussa, going by Petzora, is one moneths viage. Ussa hath his springs in the mountaine Poyas Semnoi, being on the left hand toward the sommer East, and springeth out of a great stone of the same mountaine, called Camen Bolschoi. From the springs of Ussa to the mouthes of the same, are numbered more then a thousand versts. Furthermore, Petzora runneth from this south winter part, from whence ascending from the mouthes of Ussa, unto the mouthes of the river Stzuchogora, is three weekes viage. They that described this vyage sayd that they rested betweene the mouthes of the rivers of Stzuchogora and Potzscheriema, and left their victuals there which they brought with them from Russia. Beyond the rivers of Petzora and Stzuchogora toward the mountaine Camenipoias, and the sea with the Ilands thereabout, and the Castle of Pustosero, are divers and innumerable nations, which by one common name are called Samoged (that is) such as eate themselves. They have great increase of foules, birdes, and divers kindes of beastes: as Sables, Marternes, Bevers, Otters, Hermelines, Squirrels: and in the Ocean the beast called a Mors: Also Vessee, white Beares, Wolves, Hares, Equiwodvani, great Whales, and a fish called Semfi, with divers other. The people of these nations come not to Moscovia: For they are wilde, and flee the company and society of other men.

From the mouthes of Stzuchogora, sayling up the river unto Poiassa, Artawische, Cameni, and Poiassa the greater, is three weekes vyage. Furthermore, the ascending to the mount Camen, is three dayes journey: from the which descending they come to the river Artawischa,

and from thence to the river Sibut, from whence they passe to the Castle of Lepin, and from Lepin to the river Sossa. The people that inhabite the region by this river, are called Uvogolici. Leaving Sossa on the right hande, they come to the great river Obi, that springeth out of the lake Kitaisko, the which, with all the haste they could make, they could scarcely passe over in one day, the river being of such breadth that it reacheth fourescore versts. The people also that dwell about the river, are called Uvogolici and Ugritzsch. From the Castle of Obea, ascending by the river of Oby, unto the river Irtische, into the which Sossa entereth, is three moneths journey. In these places are two Castles named Jerom and Tumen, kept by certaine Lords called Knesi Juhorski, being tributaries to the great Duke of Moscovia, as they say. Here are divers kinds of beasts and fures.

From the mouth of the river Irtische to the Castle of Grustina, is two moneths journey: from whence to the lake Kitai, by the river Oby (which I said to have his springs in this lake) is more then three moneths journey. From this lake come many blacke men, lacking the use of common speech. They bring with them divers wares, and especially pearles and precious stones, which they sell to the people called Grustintzi and Serponowtzi. These have their name of the Castle Serponow, situate in the mountaines of Lucomoria, beyond the river Obi. They say that to the men of Lucomoria chaunceth a marveilous thing and incredible: For they affirme, that they die yeerely at the xxvii. day of November, being the feast of S. George among the Moscovites: and that at the next spring about the xxiii. day of Aprill, they revive againe as doe Frogges.

With these also, the people of Grustintzi and Serponowtzi exercise a new and strange kinde of trade: For when the accustomed time of their dying, or rather of sleeping, approacheth, they leave their wares in certaine places appointed, which the Grustintzi and Serponowtzi carry away, leaving other wares of equall value in their places: which if the dead men at the time of their reviving perceive to be of unequall price, they require their owne againe: by reason whereof, much strife and fighting is betweene them.

From the river of Obi descending toward the left hand, are the people called Calami, which came thither from

Obiowa and Pogosa. Beneath Obi, about Aurea Anus (that is, the golden old wife) are the rivers Sossa, Berezvua, and Danadim, all which spring out of the mountaines Camen, Bolschega, Poiassa, and the rockes joyning to the same. All the nations that inhabite from these rivers to Aurea Anus, are subject to the prince of Moscovia.

Aurea Anus, called in the Moscovites tongue, Slata Baba, is an idol, at the mouthe of Obi in the province of Obdora, standing on the furthest banke toward the sea. Along by the bankes of Obi, & the rivers neare there about, are here and there many castles and fortresses: all the lordes whereof are subject to the prince of Moscovia, as they say. They say also, or rather fable, that the idol called Aurea Anus, is an image like unto an old wife, having a child in her lap, and that there is now seene another infant, which they say to be her nephew: Also, that there are certaine instruments that make a continuall sound like the noyse of Trumpets, the which, if it so be, I thinke it to be by reason of the winde, blowing continually into the holow places of those instruments.

The river Cossin falleth out of the mountaines of Lucomoria: In the mouth of this is a castle, whither from the springs of the great river Cossin, is two monethes viage. Furthermore, from the springs of the same river, the river Cassima hath his originnall, which running through Lucomoria, falleth into the great river Tachnin, beyond the which (as is said) dwell men of prodigious shape, of whom, some are overgrownen with haire like wilde beastes, other have heads like dogges, and their faces in their breasts, without neckes, and with long hands also, and without feete. There is likewise in the river Tachnin a certaine fish, with head, eyes, nose, mouth, hands, feete, and other members utterly of humane shape, and yet without any voyce, and pleasant to be eaten, as are other fishes.

All that I have hitherto rehearsed, I have translated out of the saide journey which was delivered me in the Moscovites tongue: In the which, perhaps some things may seeme fabulous, and in maner incredible, as of the dombe men, and the dead reviving, the Aurea Anus also, and the monstrous shapes of men, with the fish of humane fourme: whereof, although I have made diligent inquisi-

tion, yet could I knowe nothing certaine of any that had scene the same with their eyes: neverthesse, to give further occasion to other to search the trueth of these things, I have thought good to make mention hereof.

Noss in the Moscovites tongue signifieth a nose, and therefore they call all capes or points, that reach into the sea, by the same name.

The mountaines about the river of Petzora are called Semnoi Poyas, or Cingulus mundi, that is, the girdle of the world, or of the earth.

Kithai is a lake, of which the great Can of Cathay, whom the Moscovians cal Czar Kithaiski, hath his name: For Can in the Tartars language signifieth, A King.

The places of Lucomoria, neare unto the sea, are salvage, full of woods, and inhabited without any houses. And albeit, that the author of this journey, said, that many nations of Lucomoria are subject to the prince of Moscovia, yet for as much as the kingdome of Tumen is neare thereunto, whose prince is a Tartar, and named in their tongue, Tumenski Czar, that is, a king in Tumen, and hath of late done great damage to the prince of Moscovia: it is most like that these nations should rather be subject unto him.

Neare unto the river Petzora (whereof mention is made in this journey) is the citie and castle of Papin, or Papinowgorod, whose inhabitants are named Papini, and have a private language, differing from the Moscovites. Beyond this river are exceeding high mountaines, reaching even unto the bankes, whose ridges or tops, by reason of continuall windes, are in maner utterly barren without grasse or fruits. And although in divers places they have divers names, yet are they commonly called Cingulus mundi, that is, the girdle of the world. In these mountaines doe Jerfalcons breede, whereof I have spoken before. There growe also Cedar trees, among the which are found the best and blackest kinde of Sables: and onely these mountaines are scene in all the dominions of the prince of Moscovia, which perhaps are the same that the old writers call Rhipheos, or Hyperboreos, so named of the Greeke word, Hyper, that is, Above, and Boreas, that is, the North: for by reason they are covered with continuall snow and frost, they can not without great difficultie be travayled, and reach so farre into the North, that they make the unknownen land of Engronland. The

Duke of Moscovia, Basilius the sonne of John, sent on a time two of his Captaines, named Simeon Pheodorowich Kurbski, & Knes Peter Uschatoi, to search the places beyond these mountaines, and to subdue the nations thereabout. Kurbski was yet alive at my being in Moscovia, & declared unto me that he spent xvii. daies in ascending the mountaine, & yet could not come to the top therof, which in their tongue is called Stolp, that is, a piller. This mountaine is extended into the Ocean unto the mouthes of the rivers of Dwina and Petzora.

But now having spoken thus much of the said journey, I will returne to the dominions of Moscovia, with other regions lying Eastward & South from the same, toward the mighty Empire of Cathay. But I will first speake somewhat briefly of the province of Rezan, and the famous river of Tanais.

The province of Rezan, situate betweene the rivers of Occa and Tanais, hath a citie builded of wood, not far from the bank of Occa: there was in it a Castle named Jaroslave, whereof there now remaineth nothing but tokens of the old ruine. Not farre from that citie the river Occa maketh an Iland named Strub, which was sometime a great Dukedome, whose prince was subject to none other. This province of Rezan is more fruitful then any other of the provinces of Moscovia: Insomuch that in this (as they say) every graine of wheat bringeth forth two, and sometimes more eares: whose stalkes or strawes grow so thicke that horses can scarcely go through them, or Quayles flie out of them. There is great plenty of hony, fishes, foules, birdes, and wilde beasts. The fruits also doe farre exceede the fruits of Moscovia. The people are bolde and warlike men.

A speciall note gathered by the excellent Venetian Cosmographer M. John Baptista Ramusius out of the Arabian Geographie of Abilfada Ismael, concerning the trending of the Ocean sea from China Northward, along the coast of Tartarie and other unknowen lands, and then running Westwards upon the Northerne coasts of Russia, and so farther to the Northwest.

THE aforesaid Abilfada, Ismael describing afterward the habitable places of the earth, which the Ocean sea in his circuit toucheth, sayth in this manner following.

The Ocean sea turneth from the East toward the

Countrey of the Chinaes, and stretcheth toward the North, and at length having passed the sayd Countrey, it reacheth unto the Gogi and Magogi, that is, to the confines of The uttermost Tartars, and from thence, unto certaine unknown Countreys : and running still Westward it passeth upon the Northerne coasts of Russia, and from thence it runneth toward the Northwest. (which it doth indeede upon the coast of Lappia.) By this most notable testimony it appeareth, that the Ocean sea compasseth and environeth all the East, Northeast, and North parts of Asia and Europe.

The Emperors private or houshold Officers.

THE chiefe Officers of the Emperors houshold are these which follow. The first is the office of the Boiaren Conesheva, or master of the Horse. Which conteineth no more then is expressed by the name, that is, to be overseer of the Horse, and not Magister equitum, or Master of the Horsemen. For he appointeth other for that service, as occasion doth require, as before was sayd. He that beareth that office at this time, is Boris Pheodorowich Godonoe, brother to the Emperesse. Of Horse for service in his warres (besides other for his ordinary uses) he hath to the number of ten thousand which are kept about Mosco.

The next is the Lord Steward of his houshold at this time, one Gregory Vasilowich Godonoe. The third is his Treasurer, that keepeth all his moneys, jewels, plate, &c. now called Stephan Vasilowich Godonoe. The fourth his Controller, now Andreas Petrowich Clesinine. The fift his Chamberlaine. He that attendeth that office at this time, is called Estoma Bisabroza Pastelnischay. The sixt his Tasters, now Theodor Alexandrowich, and Ivan Vasilowich Godonoe. The seventh his Harbengers, which are three Noble men, and divers other Gentlemen that do the office under them. These are his ordinary officers, and offices of the chiefeest account.

Of Gentlemen, beside them that waite about his chamber, and person (called Shilsey Strapsey) there are two hundred, all Noblemens sonnes. His ordinary Garde is two thousand Hagbutters readie with their pieces charged, and their match lighted, with other necessarie furniture continually day and night : which come not within the house, but waite without in the court or yard,

where the Emperour is abiding. In the night time there lodgeth next to his bedchamber the chiefe Chamberlaine, with one or two more of best trust about him. A second chamber off, there lodge sixe other of like account for their trust and faithfulnessse. In the thirde chamber lie certaine young Gentlemen, of these two hundred, called Shilsey Strapsey, that take their turnes by forties every night. There are groomes besides that watch in their course, and lie at every gate and doore of the Court, called Estopnick.

The Hagbutters or Gunners, whereof there are two thousand (as was said before) watch about the Emperours lodging, or bedchamber by course 250. every night, and 250. more in the Court yarde, and about the Treasure house. His Court or house at the Mosco is made castle wise, walled about, with great store of faire ordinance planted upon the wall, and conteyneth a great breadth of ground within it, with many dwelling houses: Which are appointed for such as are knowen to be sure, and trustie to the Emperor.

Of the private behaviour, or qualitie of the Russe people.

THE private behaviour and qualitie of the Russe people, may partly be understood by that which hath beene sayd concerning the publike state and usage of the Countrey. As touching the naturall habite of their bodies, they are for the most part of a large size, and of very fleshly bodies: accounting it a grace to be somewhat grosse and burley, and therefore they nourish and spread their beards, to have them long and broad. But for the most part they are very unwieldy and unactive withall. Which may be thought to come partly of the climate, and the numbnesse which they get by the cold in winter, and partly of their diet that standeth most of rootes, onions, garlike, cabbage, and such like things that breede grosse humors, which they use to eate alone, and with their other meates.

Their diet is rather much then curious. At their meales they beginne commonly with a Charke or small cuppe of Aqua vitæ, (which they call Russe wine) and then drinke not till towards the end of their meales, taking it in largely, and all together, with kissing one another at every pledge. And therefore after dinner there is no talking with them, but every man goeth to his bench

to take his afternoones sleepe, which is as ordinary with them as their nights rest. When they exceede, and have varietie of dishes, the first are their baked meates (for roste meates they use litle) and then their broathes or pottage. Their common drinke is Mead, the poorer sort use water, and a third drinke called Quasse, which is nothing else (as we say) but water turned out of his wits, with a litle branne meashed with it.

This diet would breede in them many diseases, but that they use bathstoves, or hote houses in steade of all Phisicke, commonly twise or thrise every weeke. All the winter time, and almost the whole Sommer, they heat their Peaches, which are made like the Germane bathstoves, and their Poclads like ovens, that so warme the house that a stranger at the first shall hardly like of it. These two extremities, specially in the winter of heat within their houses, and of extreame colde without, together with their diet, make them of a darke, and sallow complexion, their skinnes being tanned and parched both with cold and with heate: specially the women, that for the greater part are of farre worse complexions, then the men. Whereof the cause I take to be their keeping within the hote houses, and busying themselves about the heating, and using of their bathstoves, and peaches.

The Russe because that he is used to both these extremities of heat and of cold, can beare them both a great deale more patiently, then strangers can doe. You shall see them sometimes (to season their bodies) come out of their bathstoves all on a froth, and fuming as hoat almost as a pigge at a spit, and presently to leape into the river starke naked, or to powre cold water all over their bodies, and that in the coldest of all the winter time. The women to mende the bad hue of their skinnes, use to paint their faces with white and red colours, so visibly, that every man may perceive it. Which is made no matter, because it is common and liked well by their husbands: who make their wives and daughters an ordinarie allowance to buy them colours to paint their faces withall, and delight themselves much to see them of fowle women to become such faire images. This parcheth the skinne, and helpeth to deforme them when their painting is of.

They apparell themselves after the Greeke manner. The Noblemans attire is on this fashion. First a Taffia,

or little night cappe on his head, that covereth litle more then his crowne, commonly verie rich wrought of silke and golde threede, and set with pearle and precious stone. His head he keepeth shaven close to the very skinne, except he be in some displeasure with the Emperour. Then hee suffereth his haire to growe and hang downe upon his shoulders, covering his face as ugly and deformedly as he can. Over the Tassia hee weareth a wide cappe of blacke Foxe (which they account for the best furre) with a Tiara or long bonnet put within it, standing up like a Persian or Babilonian hatte. About his necke (which is seene all bare) is a coller set with pearle and precious stone, about three or foure fingers broad. Next over his shirt, (which is curiously wrought, because he strippeth himselfe into it in the Sommer time, while he is within the house) is a Shepon, or light garment of silke, made downe to the knees, buttoned before: and then a Caftan or a close coat buttoned, and girt to him with a Persian girdle, whereat he hangs his knives and spoone. This commonly is of cloth of gold, and hangeth downe as low as his ancles. Over that hee weareth a lose garment of some rich silke, furred and faced about with some golde lace, called a Ferris. Another over that of chamlet, or like stuffe called an Alkaben, sleeved and hanging lowe, and the cape commonly brooched, and set all with pearle. When hee goeth abroad, he casteth over all these (which are but sleight, though they seeme to be many) an other garment called an Honoratkey, like to the Alkaben, save that it is made without a coller for the necke. And this is commonly of fine cloth, or Camels haire. His buskins (which he weareth in stead of hose, with linnen folles under them in stead of boot hose) are made of a Persian leather called Saphian, embrodered with pearle. His upper stockes commonly are of cloth of golde. When he goeth abroad, hee mounteth on horsebacke, though it be but to the next doore: which is the maner also of the Boiarskey, or Gentlemen.

The Boiarskey or Gentlemans attire is of the same fashion, but differeth in stuffe: and yet he will have his Caftan or undercoat sometimes of cloth of golde, the rest of cloth, or silke.

The Noble woman (called Chyna Boiarshena) weareth on her head, first a caull of some soft silke (which is commonly redde) and over it a fruntlet called Obrosa,

of white colour. Over that her cappe (made after the coife fashion of cloth of gold) called Shapka Zempska, edged with some rich furre, and set with pearle and stone. Though they have of late begunne to disdaine embrodering with pearle above their cappes, because the Diacks, and some Marchants wives have taken up the fashion. In their eares they weare earerings (which they call Sargee) of two inches or more compasse, the matter of gold set with Rubies, or Saphires, or some like precious stone. In Sommer they goe often with kerchieffes of fine white lawne, or cambricke, fastned under the chinne, with two long tassels pendent. The kerchiefe spotted and set thicke with rich pearle. When they ride or goe abroad in raynie weather, they weare white hattes with coloured bandes, called Stapa Zenskoy. About their neckes they weare collers of three or foure fingers broad, set with rich pearle and precious stone. Their upper garment is a loose gowne called Oposhen commonly of scarlet, with wide loose sleeves, hanging downe to the ground buttended before with great golde buttons, or at least silver and guilt nigh as bigge as a walnut. Which hath hanging over it fastned under the cappe, a large broad cape of some rich furre, that hangeth downe almost to the middes of their backes. Next under the Oposken or upper garment, they weare another called a Leitnick that is made close before with great wide sleeves, the cuffe or halfe sleeve up to the elbowes, commonly of cloth of golde: and under that a Ferris Zenskoy, which hangeth loose buttoned throughout to the very foote. On the hande wrests they weare very faire braselets, about two fingers broad of pearle and precious stone. They goe all in buskins of white, yellow, blew, or some other coloured leather, embrodered with pearle. This is the attire of the Noblewoman of Russia, when she maketh the best shewe of her selfe. The Gentlewomans apparell may differ in the stuffe, but is all one for the making or fashion.

As for the poore Mousick and his wife they goe poorely cladde. The man with his Honoratkey, or loose gowne to the small of the legge, tyed together with a lace before, of course white or blew cloth, with some Shube or long wastcoate of furre, or of sheepeskinne under it, and his furred cappe, and buskins. The poorer sort of them have their Honoratkey, or upper garment, made of Kowes haire. This is their winter habite. In the sommer time,

commonly they weare nothing but their shirts on their backes, and buskins on their legges. The woman goeth in a red or blewe gowne, when she makoth the best shewe, and with some warme Shube of furre under it in the winter time. But in the sommer, nothing but her two shirts (for so they call them) one over the other, whether they be within doores, or without. On their heads, they weare caps of some coloured stuffe, many of velvet, or of cloth of gold: but for the most part kerchiefs. Without earings of silver or some other mettall, and her crosse about her necke, you shall see no Russe woman, be she wife, or maide.

The Lord Boris Pheodorowich his letter to the Right Honorable William Burghley Lord high Treasurer of England, &c.

By the grace of God the great Lord Emperor, and great Duke Theodore Ivanowich, great Lord, King, and great Duke of all Russia, of Volodemer, Mosco, and Novogorod, king of Cazan, and Astracan, Lord of Vobsko, and great Duke of Smolensco, Tver, Ughori, Permi, Viatsko, Bolgorie, and other places, Lorde and great Duke of Novogrod in the Lowe Countrey, of Chernigo, Rezan, Polotsky, Rostove, Yeroslave, Bealozera, and Liefeland, of Oudorski, Obdorski, Condinski, and commander of all Sibierland, and the North coasts, great Lorde over the Countrey of Iverski, Grisinski, Emperor of Kabardinski, and of the Countrey Charchaski, and the Countrey of Gorsky, and Lord of many other regions.

From Boris Pheodorowich his Majesties brother in law, master of his horses, governour of the territories of Cazan and Astracan, to William Lord Burghley, Lord high Treasurer to the most vertuous Ladie Elizabeth, Queene of England, France, and Ireland, and other dominions: I received your Lordships letters, wherein you write that you have received very joyfully my letters sent unto you, and advisedly read them, and imparted the same unto her Majestie: and that your Merchants finde themselves agreeved, that when they approch these parts, and are arrived here, they are not permitted to enter into a free and liberall course of barter, traffike, and exchange of their commodities, as heretofore they have done, but are compelled before then can enter into any traffike to accept the Emperours waxe, and other goods, at high

rates farre above their value, to their great losse: and that they are by reason of this restraint long holden upon these coasts to the danger of wintering by the way. Hereafter there shalbe no cause of offence given to the Marchants of the Queenes Majestie Queene Elizabeth: they shall not be forced to any thing, neither are there or shall be any demands made of custome or debts. Such things as have beene heretofore demaunded, all such things have beene already upon their petition and supplication commaunded to be discharged. I have sollicitated his Majestie for them, that they be not troubled hereafter for those matters, and that a favourable hand be caried over them. And according to your request I will be a meane to the Emperour for them in all their occasions, and will my selfe shew them my favorable countenance. And I pray you (William Burghley) to signifie to her Majesties Merchants that I promise to have a care of them, and for the Queenes Majestie of Englands sake, I will take her Merchants into my protection, and will defend them as the Emperours selected people under the Emperours commission: and by mine appointment all his Majesties officers and authorized people shall be carefull over them. The Emperours gracious favor towards them was never such as it is now. And where you write that at the port the Emperours Officers sell their waxe by commission at a set rate given them, farre above the value, and that they enforce your Marchants to accept it, they deny that they take any such course, but say they barter their waxe for other wares, and also put their waxe to sale for readie money to your Merchants, according to the worth thereof, and as the price goeth in the custome house here. It hath beene heretofore deare, and now is sold as good cheape as in any other place, and as they can best agree: they enforce no man to buy it, but rather kepe it: therefore your Marchants have no just cause to make any such report. I have expressly given order, that there shall be no such course used to enforce them, but to buy according to their owne willes, and to tarrie at the port or to depart at their pleasure. And as touching the customes alreadie past, and debts demanded at your Merchants hands, whereof you write: Our Lord great Emperour and great Duke Theodore Ivanowich of all Russia of famous memory hath shewed his Majesties especial favour and love, for the great love of his wel-

beloved sister Queene of England, and by my petition and mediation, whereas there was commandement given to take Marshes whole debt of your Merchants and factors, it is moderated to the halfe, and for the other halfe, commandement given it should not be taken, and the Merchants billes to be delivered them. And to the end hereafter that her Majesties Marchants move no contention betwixt our Lord the Emperour and great Duke of Russia, and his welbeloved sister Queene Elizabeth, his Majestie desireth order to be given, that your Marchants doe deale justly in their traffike, and plainly without fraud or guile. And I will be a favourer of them above all others, under his Majesties authoritie: themselves shall see it. Written in our great Lorde the Emperours citie of Mosco in the moneth of July, 7099.

The Queenes Majesties letter to Theodore Ivanovich
Emperour of Russia, 1591.

ELIZABETH by the grace of God Queene of England, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c. to the right high, mighty, and right noble prince Theodore Ivanovich great Lord, King, and great Duke of all Russia, Volodemer, Mosco, Novogrod, King of Cazan, and Astracan, Lord of Vobsko, and great Duke of Smolensko, Otver, Ughory, Perme, Viatski, Bolgory, and other places: Lord and great Duke of Novogrod in the low countrey, of Chernigo, Rezan, Polotsky, Rostove, Yeraslave, Bealozero, and Lifland, of Oudorsky, Obdorsky, Condinsky, and commander of all Sibierland and the North coasts, great Lord over the countrey of Iversky, Grisinsky, Emperour of Kabardinsky, and of the countrey of Charkasky, and of the countrey of Gorsky, and Lord of many other countreys, our most deare and loving brother, greeting. Right noble and excellent prince, we have received your Majesties letters brought over by our merchants in their returne of their last voyage from your port of S. Nicholas; which letters we have advisedly read and considered, and thereby perceive that your Majesty doth greatly mislike of our late imployment of Jerome Horsey into your dominions as our messenger with our Highnesse letters, and also that your Majesty doth thinke that we in our letters sent by the sayd messenger have not observed that due order or respect which appertained to your princely majesty, in the forme

of the same letter, aswel touching the enlargement of your Majesties stile and titles of honor which your Majesty expected to have bene therein more particularly expressed, as also in the adding of our greatest seale or signet of armes to the letters which we send to so great a Prince as your Majesty is: in any of which points we would have bene very loth willingly to have given just cause of offence thereby to our most deare and loving brother. And as touching the sayd messenger Jerome Horsey we are sory that contrary to our expectation he is fallen into your Majesties displeasure, whom we minde not to mainteine in any his actions by which he hath so incurred your Majesties mislike: yet that we had reason at such time as we sent him to your Majesty to use his service as our messenger, we referre our selves to your princely judgement, praying your Majesty to reduce into your minde the especiall commendation, which in your letters written unto us in the yeere 1585, you made of the sayd Jerome Horsey his behaviour in your dominions: at which time your Majesty was pleased to use his service as your messenger to us, requiring our answeere of your letters to be returned by him and by none other. That employment, with other occasions taken by your Majesty to use the service of the sayd Jerome Horsey (as namely in the yeere 1587) when your Majesty sent him to us againe with your letters, and your liberall and princely priviledge at our request granted to our merchants (for which we have heretofore given thanks to your Majesty, so doe we hereby reiterate our thankfulnessse for the same) mooved us to be of minde, that we could not make choise of any of our subjects so fit a messenger to your Majesty as he, whom your Majesty had at severall times used upon your owne occasions into this our Realme. But least your highnesse should continue of the minde that the letters which you sent by our ambassador Giles Fletcher (wherein some mention was made of your conceived displeasure against the sayd Horsey) came not to our hands, and that wee were kept ignorant of the complaint which your Majesty made therein against the sayd Horsey, we do not deny but that we were acquainted aswell by our ambasadour as by those letters of some displeasure conceived against him by your Majesty: but your sayd letters giving onely a short generall mention of some misdemeanour committed by him, expressing no particulars,

we were of opinion that this offence was not so hainous, as that it might utterly extinguish all your former princely favour towards him, but that upon his humble submission to your Majesty, or upon better examination of the matter of the displeasure conceived against him, the offence might have beene either remitted, or he thereof might have cleared himselfe. And to that end we were not onely by his great importunity long solicited, but by the intercession of some of our Nobility giving credit to his owne defence, we were intreated on his behalfe to use his service once againe into Russia as our messenger to your Majesty, whereby he might have opportunity to cleare himselfe, and either by his answer or by his submission recover your Majesties former favour: whereunto our princely nature was mooved to yeeld, wishing the good of our subject so farre forth as his desert might carry him, or his innocencie cleare him.

Thus noble Prince, our most loving and dearest brother, it may appeare unto your Majesty how we were induced to use the service of the sayd messenger, aswell for the recovery of your Majesties favor towards him (if he had bene found woorthy of it) as for experience of the maners and fashions of your countrey, where he hath bene much conversant. But sith by your Majesties letters it appeareth that he hath not cleared himselfe in your Majesties sight, we meane not to use him in any such price hereafter.

And as touching your Majesties conceit of the brevitie which we used in the setting downe of your Majesties stile and titles of honour: as nothing is further from us, then to abridge so great and mighty a Prince of the honour due unto him (whom we holde for his greatnesse to deserve more honour then we are able to give him) so shall we need no further nor surer argument to cleare us of the suspicion of the detracting from your Majesty any part of your just and princely honor and greatnesse, then the consideration of our owne stile, which is thus contracted, videlicet, Elizabeth by the grace of God Queene of England, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith &c. which kingdomes and dominions of ours are expressed by these generall words, videlicet, England, France, and Ireland: in every of which there are severall principalities, dukedomes, earledomes, provinces and countreys: which being severally expressed would enlarge much our stile,

and make it of great length; which by our progenitours hath not bene used: notwithstanding, we thinke it no dishonour to us, compendiously to abridge the same in all our writings and letters written to what Prince, King, or Potentate soever. Whereupon we inferre, that holding your Majesties generall stile, we offer your Highnesse no dishonour in not expressing all the particular provinces: albeit we can willingly content our selfe, upon the knowledge of your usages and customes, to observe that course, which your selfe shall thinke most honourable. And for the sealing up of our letters which we write to all our allies, kinsemen, and friends, Kings and Princes, we have in use two severall seales; both which we esteeme alike honourable, being our princely seales. And as the volume of our letters falleth out to be great or small, so accordingly is our greater or lesser seale annexed to the sayd letters, without esteeming either of them more or lesse honourable then the other. So as, our most loving and dearest brother, in the said letters there was nothing done of purpose to detract from your Majesty any thing of the usuall regard, which our Highnesse was woont to yeeld unto your most noble father of famous memory Ivan Basilivich Emperor of al Russia, or to your selfe, our dearest brother. For the residue of the points of your Majesties letters concerning the entertainment of our ambassadour, and proceeding in the cause of Anthonie Marsh we holde our selfe satisfied with your princely answere, and doe therein note an honourable and princely care in your Majestie to prevent the like troubles, controversies and sutes, that Marshes cause stirred up betweene our merchants and your subjects, which is, that your Majestie doeth purpose from time to time to purge your Countrey of such straglers of our subjects, as doe or shall hereafter abide there, and are not of the Company of our merchants, but contemptuously depart out of our land without our Highnesse licence: of which sort there are presented unto us from our merchants the names of these severall persons, videlicet, Richard Cocks, Bennet Jackman, Rainold Kitchin, Simon Rogers, Michael Lane, Thomas Worsenham: whom it may please your Majesty by your princely order to dismisse out of your land, that they may be sent home in the next shippes, to avoid the mislike which their residence in those parts might breed to the disturbance

of our brotherly league, and the impeaching of the enter-course.

And whereas, most loving and dearest brother, one William Turnebull a subject of ours is lately deceased in your kingdome, one with whom our merchants have had much controversie for great summes of money due unto them by him while he was their Agent in their affayres of merchandises: which differences by arbitrable order were reduced to the summe of 3000 rubbles, and so much should have beene payed by him as may appeare by your Majesties councell or magistrates of justice by very credible information and testimony: and whereas also the sayd Turnbull was further indebted by billes of his own hand to divers of our subjects, amounting in the whole, to the summe of 1326 pounds, which billes are exemplified under our great seale of England, and to be sent over with this bearer: of which summes he hath often promised payment: it may please your most excellent Majestie in your approved love to justice, to give order to your favourable councell and magistrates, that those severall debts may be satisfied to our merchants and subjects out of the goods, merchandise, and debts which are due to the state of the sayd Turnbull: whereof your Majesties councell shalbe informed by the Agent of our merchants.

We trust we shall not need to make any new request by motion to your Majesty that some order might be taken for the finding out of the rest of our merchants goods seised to your majesties use in the hands and possession of John Chappel their servant, being a thing granted, and no doubt already performed by your Majesties order. We therefore intreat your Majesty, that as conveniently as may be, satisfaction or recompense be given to our said merchants towards the repairing of their sundry great losses aswell therein as otherwise by them of late sundry wayes sustained. And lastly, our most deare and loving brother, as nothing in all these our occasions is to be preferred before our entire league and amitie, descending upon us as an inheritance, in succession from both our ancestours and noble progenitours: so let us be carefull on both sides by all good meanes to holde and continue the same to our posterity for ever. And if any mistaking or errour of either side do rise, in not accomplishing of circumstances agreeable

to the fashion of either of our countreys and kingdomes, let the same upon our enterchangeable letters be reconciled, that our league and amitie be no way impeached for any particular occasion whatsoever. And thus we recommend your Majesty to the tuition of the most High. From our royall Palace of Whitehall the 14 of January, anno Domini 1591.

The Queenes Majesties letters to the Lord Boris
Pheodorowich.

ELIZABETH by the grace of God Queene of England, France, and Ireland, defendour of the faith, &c. to the right honourable and noble Prince Lord Boris Pheodorowich Godonova, Master of the horses to the great and mightie Emperour of Russia, his Highnesse lieutenant of Cazan and Astracan, our most deare and loving cousin, greeting. Right honourable, it hath appeared unto us upon the reading and perusing of the Letters lately sent unto our Highnesse from our deare and loving brother the Emperour, in what part his Majestie tooke the late imployment of our messenger Jerome Horsey in our affaires into Russia: wherein we doe also finde the honourable endeavour used by your Lordship to appease his Highnesse mislike and exception taken aswell to the person of our Messenger, as to our princely letters sent by him: both of which points we have answered in our letters sent by this bearer directed to our sayd loving brother the Emperour: upon perusing whereof we doubt not but his Majestie will be well satisfied touching our sayd Messenger and former letters. And for the honourable course holden by your Lordship in the interposing of your opinion and favourable construction in a thing which might grow to the offence of the league and amitie standing betweene your Sovereigne Lord and us (wherein your Lordship performed the office of an honourable and grave Counsellour) we take our selfe beholding to your Lordship for your readinesse in that behalfe, and doe assure our selfe that the same did proceed of the especiall love and kinde affection that your Lordship hath ever borne and continued towards us, whereof our princely nature will never be unmindfull. We have bene also from time to time made acquainted by our chiefe and principall Counsellour William Lord Burghley, Lord high Treasurour of our

Highnesse Realme of England, of your letters which have passed betweene your Lordship and him, concerning the entercourse of our Merchants trafficke in your Countreys, and of the honourable offices done by your Lordship with the Emperour in favour of our sayd Marchants. And lastly (which wee take a most assured argument of your undoubted love and affection towards us) that your Lordship hath vouchsafed, and of purpose taken into your hands the protection of our sayd Merchants, and the hearing and determining of all their causes and occasions whatsoever, which shall concerne them or their trade. All which wee conceive to be done for our sake, and therefore do acknowledge our selves to be, and still will continue beholding unto you for the same.

And whereas we have made mention in our sayd letters written to our loving brother the Emperour of certeine debts due aswell to our merchants, as to other of our subjects by one William Turnebull a subject of ours late deceased in Russia, wee pray you to be referred to the sayd letter. And forasmuch as the sayd cause will fall under your Lordships jurisdiction by reason of your acceptation of all their causes into your patronage and protection: we are so well assured of your honourable inclination to justice, and your good affection towards our merchants for our sake, that we shall not need to intreat your honourable furtherance either of justice or expedition in the sayd cause. And lastly considering that your noble lineage together with your great wisdom and desert hath made you a principall Counsellour and directour of the state of so great a Monarchie, whereby your advice and direction is followed in all things that doe concerne the same, we have given order to our sayd principall Counsellour William Lord Burghley, treasurour of our Realme of England, that as any occasion shall arise to the hinderance of the entercourse betweene these Countreys, or of the priviledges graunted by his Majestie to our merchants, that he may by advertisement treat with your Lordshippe thereupon: which we by reason of our great princely affayres can not so conveniently at all times doe with such expedition as the cause may require. And thus with our princely commendations we bidde your farewell. From our royall Pallace of Whitehall the foureteenth day of Januarie, Anno Domini 1591.

To the right honourable my very good Lord, the Lord Boris Pheodorowich, Master of the horses to the great and mighty Emperour of Russia, his Highnesse Lieutenant of Cazan and Astracan, William Cecill Lord Burghley, Knight of the noble Order of the Garter, and Lord high Treasurer of England, sendeth greeting.

RIGHT honourable my very good Lord, upon the last returne of our merchants shippes out of Russia, there was brought unto my handes, by one Francis Cherrie an English merchant, a letter directed to the Queenes Majestie, from the great and mightie Emperour of Russia, and another letter from your Lordship directed to me: which sayd letter written from the Emperor to her Majesty hath beene considerately and advisedly by her Highnesse read and perused, and the matter of complaint against Jerome Horsey therein comprised thorowly examined: which hath turned the same Horsey to some great displeasure. I did also acquaint our Majesty with the contents of your Lordships letters written to mee, and enformed her of your Lordships honourable favour shewed to her Highnesse merchants from time to time: who tooke the same in most gracious part, and confessed her selfe infinitely beholding unto your Lordship for many honourable offices done for her sake, the which she meant to acknowledge by her letters to be written to your Lordship under her princely hand and seale. And forasmuch as it hath pleased your good Lordshippe to take into your handes the protection of her Majesties merchants, and the redresse of such injuries as are, or shall be offered unto them contrary to the meaning of the priviledges and the free liberty of the entercourse, wherein in some points your Lordship hath already used a reformation, as appeareth by your sayd letters: yet the continuance of traffique mooving new occasions and other accidents tending to the losse of the sayd merchants, whereof some particulars have beene offered unto me to treat with your Lordship upon: I thought it good to referre them to your honourable consideration, that order might be taken in the same, for that they are apparantly repugnant to the Emperours letters written to her Majestie, and doe much restraine the liberty of the trade: one is, that at the last comming of our merchants to the port of Saint

Michael the Archangel, where the mart is holden, their goods were taken by the Emperours officers for his Highnesse service at such rates, as the sayd officers were disposed to set upon them, so farre under their value, that the merchants could not assent to accept of those prices: which being denied, the sayd officers restrained them of all further traffique for the space of three weekes, by which meanes they were compelled to yeeld unto their demaund how unwillingly soever. Another is, that our sayd merchants are driven to pay the Emperours officers custome for all such Russe money as they bring downe from the Mosco to the Sea side to employ there at the Mart within the Emperours owne land; which seemeth strange unto me, considering the same money is brought from one place of the Countrey to another, and there imployed without any transport over of the sayd money. These interruptions and impositions seeme not to stand with the liberties of the Emperours privileges and freedome of the entercourse, which should be restrained neither to times or conditions, but to be free and absolute: whereof it may please your Lordship to be advised, and to continue your honourable course holden betweene the Emperour and her Majesty, to reconcile such differences as any occasion doth offer to their league or traficke. Thus not doubting of your Lordships furtherance herein, I humbly take my leave of your good Lordship. From her Majesties royall palace of Whitehall this 15 of January, 1591.

A letter from the Emperour of Russia, Theodore Ivanovich to the Queenes Majestic.

THROUGH the tender mercie of our God, whereby the day-spring from on high hath visited us, thereby to guide our feet into the way of peace. Even this our God by mercy we glorifie in Trinitie.

We the great Lord, King and great Duke Theodore Ivanowich, governour of all Russia, of Volodimer, Mosco, and Novogrod, King of Cazan and Astracan, Lord of Vobscow, and great Duke of Smolensco, Otver, Ughori, Perme, Viatsky, Bulgary, and other regions, Lord and great Duke also of Novogrod in the low countrey, of Chernigo, of Rezan, Polotsko, Rostove, Yeroslave, Bealozera, and of Lifland, of Udorsky, Obdorsky, Condinsky, and all the countrey of Siberia, and commander of all the

North parts, and Lord over the countrey of Iversky, and King of Grusinsky, and of the countrey of Kabardinsky, Cherchasky, and Duke of Igorsky, Lord and ruler of many countreys more &c. To our loving sister Elizabeth Queene of England, France, and Ireland, &c. Loving sister, your letters sent by your servant Thomas Lind, we have received, and read what you have written in the same touching our title, and touching your order holden in your letters heretofore sent us by your servant Jerome Horsey: wherein you have answered us sufficiently and most graciously.

And whereas your Majestie hath written in your letter concerning the goods of William Turnebull late deceased in our kingdome, that your subjects, for whom he was factour, should have debts growing unto them from him by account: we at your Majesties request have caused not onely order to be taken, but for your Highnesse sake, loving sister, we have caused the goods to be sought out and delivered to your merchants Agent and his company, together with his stuffe, bookes, billes and writings, as also money to the value of sixe hundred rubbles, which Christopher Holmes and Francis Cherry are to pay for ycarie: and we have set at libertie the sayd Turnebulles kinseman Raynold Kitchin and his fellowes and delivered them to your merchants Agent.

And further, where you write unto us for such your subjects as have departed out of your majesties Realme secretly without licence, that we should give order to send them home: concerning such your subjects for which you have written unto our Majestic by letters, we will cause search to be made, and such as are willing to goe home into your kingdome, we will command forthwith to be delivered unto your merchants Agent, and so to passe. And such of your Majesties people as have given themselves under our government as subjects, we thinke it not requisite to grant to let them passe.

And further, where you have written unto us concerning the goods of John Chappell, we have written heretofore the whole discourse thereof, not once, but sundry times, and therefore it is not needfull to write any more thereof. And such goods as were found out of the goods of the sayd Chappell, the money thereof was restored to your Majesties people William Turnbull and his fellowes. Your Majesties servant Thomas Lind we have sent with our

letters the same way whereby he came into our kingdome. The long abiding heere of your Majesties servant in our kingdome, was for the comming of your people from the Sea port. Written in our princely court and royall seat in the city of Mosco in the yeere from the beginning of the world 7101, in the moneth of January.

To the Queenes most excellent Majestie from the Lord
Boris Pheodorovich Godonova.

By the grace of God great Lord and great Duke Theodore Ivanovich governour of Russia, Volodimer, Mosco, and Novogrod, King of Cazan and Astracan, Lord of Vobsko, and great Duke of Smolensco, Otver, Ughori, Perme, Viatsky, Bulgary, and other regions, Lord and great Duke of Novogrod in the low countrey, of Chernigo, of Rezan, Polotsko, Rostove, Jeroslave, Bealozera, and of Lifland, of Udorsky, Obdorsky, Condinsky, and all the countrey of Sibery, and commander of all the North parts, and Lord over the countrey of Iversky, and King of Grusinsky, and of the countrey of Kabardinsky, Cherchasky, and duke of Igorsky, Lord and ruler of many countreys more, &c.

Most resplendent Queene Elizabeth of England, France, and Ireland, &c. his princely Majesties servant, Lord and Master of his horses, and high Steward of his house, and President of the territories of Cazan and Astracan, Boris Pheodorovich Godonova, unto your most excellent Majesty, great Ladie Queene Elizabeth, send my humble commendations. It hath pleased your Majestie to write unto me your gracious and princely letter by your servant Thomas Lind: which letter I received with all humbleness. During the time of the abode of your messenger Thomas Lind here in the Mosco, it pleased God of his mercifulnesse, and our Lady the mother of God, and holy Saints, by the prayers of our lord and king his Majestie Theodore Ivanovich over all Russia governour, the right beleever and lover of Christ, to send our Queene and gracious Lady Irene a yoong Princesse, to the great joy and comfort of our kingdome, named Pheodocine. Wherefore we give all honour and glory to the almightie God unspeakeable, whose giftes had beene manifolde with mercie unto us: for which all wee Christians laud and praise God.

After all this your servant was occasioned to stay untill the comming of your merchants from the sea port.

Touching the letters which you have recived from your loving brother our Lord and Master by your ambassadour, therein you perceive sufficiently my good meaning, in travailing for the continuance of amitie and friendship betwixt you mighty great princes, in the which I will continue mine endeavour. Also your merchants I have taken into my protection for to defend them for the love I beare to your Majestie. As heeretofore I have done it willingly, and with great care of their good, so I meane to continue so farre as God will give me leave: to the end that brotherly love be holden betweene you Princes without disturbance.

As I have beene to your merchants in times past, so now by the permission and commandement of our Lord and Master, I will be their defendour in all causes: and will cause all our authorised people to favour them and to defend them, and to give them free liberty to buy and sell at their pleasure. The merchants doe not certifie your princely Majestie of all our friendship and favour shewed unto them from time to time. And whereas your Majestie hath now written to our Lord and Master for the debts which your merchants ought to have of William Turnebull lately disceased, I having perused your Majesties letter, whereby I am requested to be a meane for the recoverie and obtaining of their sayd debts, I have moved it to our Lord and King his Majestie, that order may be given therein: and that his kinseman Rainold Kitchin with three persons more may be sent over together with the sayd Turnebulles stuffe and other things, as billes, books and writings. All which shall be delivered to your merchants Agent and his fellowes, and in money 600 rubbles of the sayd Turnebulles.

And touching your merchants, I will have a great care over them, and protect them, whereby they shall suffer no damages in their trade: and all kinde of trafficke in merchandise shall be at their libertie.

Written in our Lord and Kings Majesties royall citie of Mosco, in the yeere from the beginning of the world 7101, in the moneth of Januarie.

A letter from the Lord Boris Pheodorowich to the right honourable Lord William Burghley, Lord high Treasurer of England.

By the grace of God great Lord, King, and great Duke Theodor Ivanovich, governour of Russia, Volodimer, Mosco, and Novogrod, King of Cazan and Astracan, Lord of Vobsko, and great Duke of Smolensco, Otver, Ughory, Perme, Viatsky, Bulgary, and other regions, Lord and great Duke of all Novogrod in the low countreys, of Chernigo, of Liffeland, of Udorsky, Obdorsky, Con-dinsky, and all the countrey of Sibery, and commaunder of all the North parts, and Lord over the countrey of Iversky, and King of Grusinsky, and of the countreys of Kabardinsky, Cherchasky, and Duke of Igorsky, Lord and ruler of many Countreys more &c. His princely Majesties servant, Lord and Master of his horses, and high Steward of his house, President of the territories of Cazan and Astracan, Boris Pheodorowich Godonova, to the most honourable Counsellor of the most resplendent mightie great Lady Elizabeth Queene of England, France, and Ireland, William Burghley, Lord, and Knight of the Garter, high Treasurour of England, sendeth greeting.

I perceive by your letter that your merchants last shippes came home in saftie, and that you have received the letters sent by them, by the hands of Francis Cherie, one from our Lord and great King of all Russia his Majesty, unto your Queenes most excellent Majesty, and one from me to her Highnesse, and one from my selfe to you: and the contents thereof you have caused to be read and well understood at large. And whatsoever is therein written concerning Jerome Horsey, you have sought out the ground thereof, and that he is in great displeasure. And her Highnesse hath written in her letter concerning her Majesties merchants, that whereas I have taken them into protection, she taketh it very lovingly and kindly, that for her sake they have received so great kindnesse.

And touching the damages and hinderances which your merchaunts have sustained by meanes of the Emperours authorised people and officers, and that they were not permitted to traffike at libertie at the Sea port in the yeere 1589, for the space of three weekes, it hath bene

against the Emperours Majesties will and pleasure, as also against mine. Where you desire and wish that betweene our Emperours Majestie, and your Queenes Majestie, their love and amitie may not bee seperated at any time, but to continue: and you request mee that I should be good unto the English merchants, and to defend them from all such damages hereafter: your honours loving letter I have therein throughly considered: and as I have bene heretofore, so I will still continue to be a meane betwixt our Lorde and kings Majestie, and your great Lady the Queene her highnesse, for the mainteyning of brotherly love and amitie, most joyfully and willingly, as God knoweth, aswel hereafter as I have bene heretofore: praying you to doe the like also. Mine onely desire is for your most excellent Princesse sake, to do all that lyeth in mee for the ayding, helping and protecting of her Majesties merchants, by the order and commaundement of our Lord and king his Majestie.

And to that ende, I have given order to all our authorised people to bee carefull over them, and to defende them in all causes, and to give them free libertie to trafficke at their owne willes and pleasures. It may bee that your merchants doe not certifie you the trueth of all things, nor make knowne unto your honour my readinesse to protect them: And howe my Letters and Commissions are sent to all authorised people for them, that they shoulde ayde and assist them according to the tenour of my Letters, to all others that bee in authoritie under the said Officers or otherwise.

Also your honour writeth of the debarring of your merchants at the Sea port from their accustomed libertie of enterchangeable trafficke and bartar. Touching which complaint search and inquisition hath bene made, and commaundement given, that your Queenes Majesties merchants at the Seaside, and in all places where the trade is, doe not sustaine any damage or hinderance hereafter, but that they shalbe at libertie without any hindering or letting, either in the Mosco, the Treasure-house, or else where by any of our authorised people, but absolutely to bee at free libertie at their owne will and pleasure. And also I will continue to be their protectour and defendour in all causes, by our Lorde and kings Majesties order and commaundement: as it shalbe

known and certified you by your people resident here in the Mosco.

Written in our Kings Majesties royall citie of Mosco
from the beginning of the world 7101. yeere,
in the moneth of January.

A most gracious Letter given to the English Merchants
Sir John Hart and his company, by Theodore Ivanovich, the King, Lord, and great duke of all Russia, the onely upholder thereof.

THE onely God omnipotent before all eternitie, his will be done without ende: the Father, Sonne, and holy Ghost we glorifie in Trinitie. Our onely God the maker of all things and worker of all in all every where with plentifull increase: for which cause he hath given life to man to love him, and to trust in him: Our onely God which inspireth every one of us his holy children with his word to discern good through our Lord Jesus Christ, and the holy quickning spirit of life now in these perilous times establish us to keepe the right scepter, and suffer us to reigne of our selves to the good profit of the land, and to the subduing of the people together with the enemies, and to the maintenance of vertue.

We the great Lord, king, and great duke Theodore Ivanovich, of all Russia the onely upholder, of Volodimer, Mosco, and Novogrod, King of Casan, and king of Astracan, Lord of Vobsko, and great duke of Smolensko, of Otver, Ughorie, Permia, Viatski, Bulgari, and other regions, great duke also of Novogrod in the lowe Countrey, of Chernigo, of Rezan, Polotski, Rostove, Yaroslave, Bealozero, and of Liefland, of Udorski, Obdorski, Condenski, and commaunder of all the Countrey of Siberi and of the North parts, and Lord over the Countrey of Iverski, Grusinski, and King over the Countrey of Igorski, and ruler over many other kingdomes and Lordships more.

Our princely Majestie at the request of our brother in lawe Boris Feodorowich Godenova our servant, and Master of our horses, generall Comptroller of our house, and governour of the Lordships and kingdomes of Casan and Astracan: unto the English merchants Sir John Hart knight, sir William Webbe knight, Richard Salkenstow Alderman, Nicholas Moseley alderman, Robert Dove, Wil. Garrowe, John Harbey, Robert Chamberlaine, Henry

Anderson, John Woodworth, Francis Cherry, John Mer-
rick, & Cristopher Holmes; hath graciously given leave
to come & go with their ships into our kingdome &
territories of Duina with all kind of commodities at their
pleasures to trafficke from the seaside to our roial city
of Mosco, & in al other cities, townes, countries and
territories of our whole kingdom of Mosco: upon the
humble petition and sute of the saide English merchants
sir John Hart and his company, wee have given them
leave to passe and trafficke into all parts of our dominions
and territories of Mosco, and to our inheritance of
Novogrod and Plesco with their wares and commodities
without paying any custome or duties.

We the great Lord, king, and great duke Theodore
Ivanovich of all Russia, have firmly given and graunted
unto the aforesaide English merchants Sir John Hart and
his company, for the love we beare to our deare sister
Queene Elizabeth, we I say of our gracious goodnes have
given leave to travel and passe to our royal seat of Mosco,
and to all the parts of our kingdome with all kinde of
commodities, and to trafficke with all kinde of wares at
their owne pleasure, without paying any custome of their
saide wares.

To you our Customers we wil and command not to
take any maner of custome of the said merchants and
their company, neither for entering, weying nor passing
by or through any place of our territories, nor for custome,
of judgement by Lawe, or for their person or persons;
nor any duties over bridges, or for certificats or processes,
or for conducting over any streames or waters, or for
any other customes or duties that may be named; we
wil and straitly commaund you not to take any of them
in any wise.

Provided alwayes, that the saide merchants shall not
colour any strangers wares, nor bring them into our
countrie, nor favour them colourably, nor sel for any
stranger. To you our subjects also we command, not
to meddle or deale with any wares of strangers colourably,
nor to have them by you in keeping. nor to offer to sel
their commodities; but themselves to sel their owne
commodities in change or otherwise as they may or can.
And in al townes, cities, countreys, or any part of our
dominions and territories it shalbe lawful for the foresaid
merchants and their company to sell or barter away their

owne commodities in change or otherwise, for or at their pleasure as they will. And whensoever the said merchants or any of them come into our territories of great Novogrod or Plesco, or to any other parts of our kingdome with their wares, by vertue of these our Majesties letters we straitly charge and command you our Captaines, generals, and all other that be authorised or in office, to suffer the aforesaid merchants to passe and repasse, and to take no kinde of custome or dutie of them, or any of their goods, howsoever it may have name: nor in no place else where they shal come in all our kingdome. Likewise if they sell not nor buy no wares, you shall take no custome, but suffer them quietly to passe where they will with their goods. Of our gracious goodnes and meere goodwill we have given the said merchants leave to trafficke throughout all our kingdomes, and in all townes and cities with all maner of wares and commodities without paying any custome or dutie. Wheresoever they shal happen to sel or barter away any of their commodities to our subjects, they are to barter or sell by whole sale, and not by retaile, as by the yard or by the ounce in their houses or elsewhere: but by the packe or whole clothes, velvets, damasks, taffaties by the piece, and not by the yard: and al other wares that are to be sold by weight, they are to be sold not by the ounce, but by great sale. Your wines shalbe solde by hogs heads, pipes or buttes, but not by quartes nor pintes.

The said English merchants are to sel or barter away their owne commodities themselves, and not to suffer any Russes to buy or sell for them: nor to carry or transport any wares of strangers in stead of their owne in no wise. And if the saide English merchants shall be desirous to sell any of their commodities at Colmogro, or upon the River of Duina, or at Vologhda or at Yeraslave; when as the saide merchants have solde in any of the saide Townes, Cities or territories, then you our officers and authorised people by vertue of this our gracious letter wee will and straitly commaund not to take any custome of the aforesaid merchants, howsoever it may be named.

Also whensoever the saide English merchants or any of their factours shalbe desirous to hire carriers to carry their wares to any place of our dominions or Cities, it

shalbe at their choyse and pleasure to hier them the best they can, and where they will, either water men to rowe, or vessels.

Also when any of the said merchants themselves, or any of theirs are desirous to travel into any part of our dominions, or into any other kingdomes, or into their owne kingdome, if any of our treasure be delivered to them, they to take it with them, and to sel it in bartar or otherwise for such wares as are most requisit and necessary to be brought into our kingdome and to be delivered into our treasury. You, our nobilitie, generals & al others in authority suffer them to passe through al our cities, townes & countries without taking any custome of them. And when the said merchants have done their traffick in any place & come to the Mosco, they shal make it knowen at their arrival at the house of Chancery and secretariship to Vasili Shalkan. And further when there come any English merchants with their ships or vessels by sea, that by mishap shalbe cast away upon any of our shoars or costes, we wil and command you to ayde & helpe them, and to seeke for their goods so perished by any casualtie, and to be restored againe to the saide English merchants or their assignes without any prolonging or detayning. As also if any of the aforesaide merchants goods be found in any part of our coastes or streames and they not present themselves, let the said goods be taken and layd up in safetie in some place or other, and be delivered to the aforesaid merchants or their factors under penaltie of our displeasure.

Furthermore we King, Lord, and great duke of all Russia, of our gracious goodnesse give unto the English merchants and their company, their house in the Citie of Mosco lying hard by the Church of S. Marke behinde the market place: which they shall keepe and remaine therein after their old accustomed use. Provided alwayes that they shall keepe one Russe porter or one of their owne people, & may keepe any other Russe servant at their discretion. Also their houses in sundry places, as at Jeraslave, Vologhda, Colmogro, and at S. Michael Archangel, all these houses they shall keepe and use at their owne pleasure, according to our former letters patents without paying any dutie, rent, or custome. Nor you the communitie of the said townes shal take any thing of them or theirs for any duetie that should belong

to you, especially of the houses aforesaid: but the said English merchants shal enjoy them peaceably for themselves and their families, but shall not suffer any other strangers Russes or others to use the aforesaid houses: Also you shall suffer them to lay their wares and commodities in their warehouses, and to sell their commodities to whom they please without let or hinderance, by vertue of this our gracious letter.

Their housekeeper being a Russe shall not undertake to meddle, or sell any of their wares without they themselves be present, nor to buy any thing for them.

Also it shalbe lawfull for the said merchants when they shal arrive at their port, to lade and unlade their merchandises as in times past they have done at their pleasure. And when they lade their ships with Russe commodities or unlade them, it shalbe lawfull for them to hire any of our subjects to helpe them for the present time, and for them to carry their goods to and fro with their owne vessels to S. Michael Archangel, or elsewhere.

Also we command you our authorised people at the sea side as wel Customers as others to take of the foresaid merchants a note, or remembrance, what goods they bring in and ship out: whereby it may be knowen what goods come in and go out. But in no wise shall you open or unpacke any of their wares or merchandises.

In like maner when as they ship or sende away any of their countrey commodities from S. Michael Archangel to any other place, or to our royall Citie of Mosco yee shall not hinder nor let them any maner of wise for the shipping of their merchandises in or out, by vertue of these our gracious letters of priviledge given them.

And whensoever any of the said English merchants have any occasion to send over land out of our dominions into their own countrey any of their servants or factors, by vertue of this our gracious letter we command you to give them their passeport out of the office of our Secretariship.

And whensoever any of our subjects hath any thing to do with any of the foresaid merchants by way of contentions: or that they be damnified or hindered by any of our subjects: then we appoint and ordeine our Chancellor and Secretary Vasili Shalcan to heare their causes, and finally to determine on both sides according

to equitie and justice : and that he shall search the trueth betweene both parties.

And when the trueth cannot be proved or found out, then to cast lots by order of the foresaide Judge, and he to whom the lot shall fall to take his othe.

Furthermore whensoever any of the English merchants or their factors shall come into any parts of our dominions or Cities, and shalbe wronged any kinde of wayes in trading, or otherwise by any abused, or have any occasion of contention with any by way of trade in merchandise or otherwayes : we straightly charge and commaund you our governours, and authorised subjects within all our Realme and territories of the same, to minister justice unto the aforesaide merchants, or to their deputies, and to search the trueth of the contention : And for want of sufficient prooffe cast lots who shall take his oath for the more ready triall of the cause : And in no wise to take any fee or duetie of the aforesaid English merchants for the said judgement in Lawe.

We wil and commaund all this to be observed and kept in all parts of our dominions by all our subjects and authorised people, by vertue of these our royal letters patents : And the said letters not to be diminished in any part or parsell thereof, by any persons howsoever they be named. And whosoever shall withstand & not regard these our gracious letters shalbe in our high displeasure, and shal incurre the losse of his life. This our gracious letter was given in our kingdom and royal City of Mosco, in the yere from the beginning of the world 7104. in the moneth of May.

Subscribed by the Emperours Chancellour
and Secretarie Vasili Shalcan.

The contents of M. Garlands Commission unto Thomas Simkinson for the bringing of M. John Dee to the Emperour of Russia his Court.

FRIEND THOMAS SIMKINSON I pray you goe to Brounswik or Cassil and inquire if Master John Dee be there or where he is, and when you finde him, certifie him howe that I have sent you purposely to knowe where hee doeth remaine, and at your returne I will come and speake with him my selfe. Also you may certefie him that the Emperour of Russeland having certaine knowledge of his great learning and wisdom is marveilous desirous

of him to come into his Countrey. And hath given me his letter with his hand and golden seale at it for to bring him into the Countrey with mee if it be possible, and for his living shewe him that he shall be sure of 2000. pound yeerely, and also all provision for his table out of the Emperours kitchin free: and if he thinke this too little, I will assure him that if he aske asmuch more, hee shall have it, and for his charges into the Countrey, I have sufficient of the Emperours allowance to bring him and all his royally into the Countrey. And because hee may doubt of these proffers, hee shall remaine at the borders untill the Emperour be certified of him, and of his requests, which he would have. And I am sure he shall be conveyed through the land with five hundred horses, and hee shalbe accompted as one of the chieftest in the land next the Emperour. Also shew him howe that my Lord Protectour at my comming away did take me in his armes, and desired me as hee should be my friend to bring him with me, and he would give him of his owne purse yeerely 1000. rubbles besides the Emperours allowance. All these foresaide grauntes and demaunds doe I Thomas Simkinson acknowledge to be spoken by Edward Garland to mee, and to be sent to declare the same unto Master John Dee. And in wnesse that this is of a trueth I have written the same with my owne hand, and thereunto set my name, in Wittingaw, otherwise called Trebona, the 18. of September, Anno 1586.

By me Thomas Simkinson of Hull.

A letter to the right worshipfull M. John Dee Esquire, conteyning the summe and effect of M. Edward Garland his message, delivered to Master Dee himselfe, (Letter-wise) for a more perfect memoriall thereof. Anno 1586.

RIGHT worshipfull, it may please you to understand, that I was sent unto you from the most mightie Prince Feodor Ivanowich, Lord, Emperour and great duke of Russia, &c. As also from the most excellent prince Boris Feodorowich, Lord Protector of Russia: to give your worship to understand the great good will and heartie desire they beare unto you; for that of long time they have had great good report of your learning & wisdom, as also of your good counsel unto Princes: whereupon his Majesties most earnest desire and request is unto you;

that you would take the paines to come unto his Citie of Mosco, to visite his Majesties Court: for that hee is desirous of your company, and also of your good counsell in divers matters that his Majestie shall thinke needfull. And for the great goodwill that his Majestie beareth unto you, he will give you yeerely toward your maintenance 2000. pound starling; and the Lord Protectour will give you a thousand rubbles, as also your provision for your table you shall have free out of his Majesties kitchin: And further whatsoever you shall thinke needefull or convenient for you, in any part or parts of his dominion, it shall be at your worships commaundement. And this is the summe and effect of my message and commandement given me by his Majestie and the Lord Protectour.

In witnesse whereof I have written this with my owne hand, the 17. of December 1586.

By me Edward Garland.

In Trebona Castel otherwise called Wittingaw in Boëmia: to which place this M. Edward Garland came to M. Dee with two Moscovites to serve him, &c. He had sixe more, which by M. Dees counsell were sent backe.

Witness M. Edward Kelley, and M. Francis Garland, brother to the foresaid Edward, and divers others.

It seemeth that this princely offer of the Emperour Pheodor Ivanowich, and of the L. Boris Pheodorowich Protectour to his Majestie, was made unto the learned and famous Mathematician M. John Dee, partly to use his counsell & direction about certaine discoveries to the Northeast; and partly for some other weighty occasions: but because their conquest to Siberia was not as then fully settled, & for divers other secret reasons, it was for y^e time with al thankfulnes refused.

A branch of a letter from M. John Merick, Agent unto the Moscovie company in Russia, closed up in the Mosco the 14. of March, Anno 1597. touching the death of Pheodor Ivanowich late Emperor of all Russia, &c.

HAVING thus farre proceeded with this my answere unto the chieftest points of your worships letters received, my desire was to have sent one unto you long since, as you may perceive by the first date: but by reason I could not

get leave, I have deferred it of till this instant, for that there was none suffered to passe out of the land. The causes may be judged, for that it pleased God to call out of this world, the Emperour his Majestie, who departed about the 7. of January: and ever since hath bene a mourning time, & no suites for any matter could be heard. But it hath bene a very dead season. Yet (thankes be to God) through the wise government of Lord Boris Pheodorowich the Lord Protector unto the saide late Emperour, since his death all things have bene very quiet without any dissention; as the like in such a great kingdome I have not heard of. And now through the providence of Almighty God, and by surrender of the late Empresse Irenia Feodoruna, and the common consent of the Patriarch, Nobles, Bishops, and the whole Cleargie, with the whole Commons besides, choise is made of none other but of the said Lord Protector, L. Boris Pheodorowich to be Emperour, and great duke of all Russia, who was most unwilling to receive the kingdome, but the people would make no other choise, nor have any other. So that with much adoe and entreatie, it hath pleased his Majestie to take upon him the kingdome, and he is absolute Emperor to him and his heires. And certainly God hath done much for this Countrey, and hath made the people greatly happy, in that he hath provided and appointed so famous and worthy a Prince: whose excellent government and experience these foureteene yeeres hath bene manifest to all Russia. God graunt his highnesse a most prosperous and long raigne, with his Lady the Empresse, the Prince his sonne, and the Princesse his daughter. All men do rejoyce both Russe and strangers for this most famous Emperour. The Coronation is thought shalbe on the Assension day next, til which time I cannot depart from Mosco: which is a litle before the time that ordinarily I doe take my journey from hence. And touching his Majesties favour towards me on your behalfe, especially for her Majesties sake, as in foretime it was extraordinary, and so specially shewed to mee, as to none the like: so hath his highnesse promised the continuance thereof, with further favour as shalbe desired. Whereof I have no doubt: for dayly I do finde the same.

A learned Epistle written 1581. unto the famous Cosmographer M. Gerardus Mercator concerning the river Pechora, Naramsay, Cara reca, the mighty river of Ob, the place of Yaks Olgush in Siberia, the great river Ardoh, the lake of Kittay called of the borderers Paraha, the Countrey of Carrah Colmak, giving good light to the discovery of the Northeast passage to Cathay, China and the Malucaes.

To the famous and renowned Gerardus Mercator, his Reverend and singular friend at Duisburgh in Clive-land, these be delivered.

CALLING to remembrance (most deare Friend) what exceeding delight you tooke at our being together, in reading the Geographically writings of Homer, Strabo, Aristotle, Plinie, Dion, and the rest, I rejoyced not a little that I happened upon such a messenger as the bearer of these presents, (whom I do especially recommend unto you) who arrived lately here at Arusburg upon the river of Osella. This mans experience (as I am of opinion) will greatly availe you to the knowledge of a certaine matter which hath bene by you so vehemently desired, and so curiously laboured for, and concerning the which the late Cosmographers do hold such varietie of opinions: namely, of the discoverie of the huge promontorie of Tabin, and of the famous and rich countreys subject unto the Emperour of Cathay, and that by the Northeast Ocean sea. The man is called Alferius being by birth a Netherlander, who for certaine yeeres lived captive in the dominions of Russia under two famous men Yacovius and Unekius, by whom he was sent to Antwerp to procure skilfull Pilots and Mariners, (by propounding liberall rewards) to go unto the two famous personages aforesayd, which two had set a Sweden Shipwright on worke to build two ships for the same discoverie upon the river of Dwina. The passage unto Cathay by the Northeast (as he declareth the matter, albeit without arte, yet very aptly, as you may well perceive, which I request you diligently to consider) is without doubt very short and easie. This very man himselfe hath travelled to the river of Ob, both by land, through the countreys of the Samoeds, and of Sibier, and also by Sea, along the coast of the river Pechora Eastward. Being encouraged by this his experience he is fully resolved with himselfe to

conduct a Barke laden with merchandize (the keele whereof hee will not have to drawe over much water) to the Baie of Saint Nicholas in Russia, being furnished with all things expedient for such a discoverie, and with a new supply of victuals at his arrivall there, and also to hire into his companie certaine Russes best known unto himselfe, who can perfectly speake the Samoeds language, and are acquainted with the river of Ob, as having frequented those places yeere by yeere.

Whereupon about the ende of May hee is determined to saile from the Baie of S. Nicholas Eastward, by the maine of Joughoria, and so to the Easterly parts of Pechora, & to the Island which is called Dolgoia. And here also hee is purposed to observe the latitudes, to survey and describe the countrey, to sound the depth of the Sea, and to note the distances of places, where, and so oft as occasion shall be offered. And forasmuch as the Baie of Pechora is a most convenient place both for harbour and victuall, as well in their going foorth as in their returne home in regard of Ice and tempest, he is determined to bestow a day in sounding the Flats, and in searching out the best enterance for ships : in which place heretofore he found the water to be but five foote deepe, howbeit he doubteth not but that there are deeper chanel : and then hee intendeth to proceed on along those coasts for the space of three or foure leagues, leaving the Island called Vaigats almost in the middle way betweene Ugoria and Nova Zembla : then also to passe by a certaine Baie betweene Vaigats and Ob, trending Southerly into the land of Ugoria, whereinto fall two small rivers called Marmesia and Carah, upon the which rivers doe inhabite an other barbarous and savage nation of the Samoeds. He found many Flats in that tract of land, and many cataracts or overfals of water, yet such as hee was able to saile by. When hee shall come to the river of Ob, which river (as the Samoeds report) hath seventie mouthes, which by reason of the huge breadth thereof containing many and great Islands, which are inhabited with sundry sortes of people, no man scarcely can well discover, because he will not spend too much time, he purposeth to search three or foure at the most of the mouthes thereof, those chiefly which shall be thought most commodious by the advise of the inhabitants, of whom hee meaneth to have certaine with him in his

voyage, and meaneth to employ three or foure boates of that Countrey in search of these mouthes, as neere as possibly he can to the shore, which within three dayes journey of the Sea is inhabited, that he may learne where the river is best navigable. If it so fall out that he may sayle up the river Ob against the streame, and mount up to that place which heretofore accompanied with certaine of his friends, he passed unto by land through the countrey of Siberia which is about twelve dayes journey from the Sea, where the river Ob falleth into the Sea, which place is in the Continent neere the river Ob, and is called Yaks Olgush, borrowing his name from that mightie river which falleth into the river Ob, then doubtlesse hee would conceive full hope that hee had passed the greatest difficulties: for the people dwelling thereabout report, which were three dayes sayling onely from that place beyond the river Ob, whereby the bredth thereof may be gathered (which is a rare matter there, because that many rowing with their boates of leather one dayes journey onely from the shore, have bene cast away in tempest, having no skill to guide themselves neither by Sunne nor Starre) that they have scene great vessels laden with rich and precious merchandize brought downe that great river by blacke or swart people. They call that river Ardoh, which falleth into the lake of Kittay, which they call Paraha, whereupon bordereth that mighty and large nation which they call Carrah Colmak, which is none other then the nation of Cathay. There, if neede require, he may fitly Winter and refresh himselfe and his, and seeke all things which he shall stand in need of: which if it so fall out, he doubteth not but in the meane while he shall be much furthered in searching and learning out many things in that place. Howbeit, he hopeth that hee shall reach to Cathaya that very Sommer, unlesse he be hindered by great abundance of Ice at the mouth of the river of Ob, which is sometimes more, and sometimes lesse. If it so fall out, hee then purposeth to returne to Pechora, and there to Winter: or if he cannot doe so neither, then hee meaneth to returne to the river of Dwina, whither he will reach in good time enough, and so the next Spring following to proceed on his voyage. One thing in due place I forgate before.

The people which dwell at that place called Yaks Olgush, affirme that they have heard their forefathers

say, that they have heard most sweete harmonie of bells in the lake of Kitthay, and that they have seene therein stately and large buildings : and when they make mention of the people named Carrah Colmak (this countrey is Cathay) they fetch deepe sighes, and holding up their hands, they looke up to heaven, signifying as it were, and declaring the notable glory and magnificence of that nation. I would this Oliver were better seene in Cosmographie, it would greatly further his experience, which doubtlesse is very great. Most deare friend, I omit many things, and I wish you should heare the man himselfe which promised mee faithfully that he would visite you in his way at Duisburg, for he desireth to conferre with you, and doubtlesse you shall very much further the man. He seemeth sufficiently furnished with money and friends, wherein and in other offices of curtesie I offered him my furtherance if it had pleased him to have used me. The Lord prosper the mans desires and forwardnesse, blesse his good beginnings, further his proceedings, and grant unto him most happy issue. Fare you well good sir and my singular friend. From Arusburg upon the river of Ossella, the 20. of February, 1581.

Yours wholly at commandement,
John Balak.

MASTER Anthonie Jenkinson in a disputation before her Majestie with sir Humfrey Gilbert for proofof a passage by the Northeast to Cathaya, among other things alleageth this : videlicet, that there came a continuall streame or currant through Mare glaciale, of such swiftnesse as a Colmak told him, that if you cast any thing therein, it would presently be caried out of sight towards the West, &c.

A testimonie of the Northeasterne Discoverie made by the English, and of the profite that may arise by pursuing the same : taken out of the second volume of Navigations and Voyages, fol. 17. of the notable Cosmographer, M. John Baptista Ramusius, Secretarie to the State of Venice : Written in Italian in the yeere, 1557.

MOREOVER (having before spoken of divers particularities, in an excellent Map of Paulus Venetus) on that part subject to our North pole, where every writer and Cosmographer of these and of former times hitherto,

have, and doe place the frozen Sea, and that the land stretcheth continually to 90. degrees, towards the pole: contrarywise, in this mappe is to bee seene, that the land extendeth onely a litle above Norway and Swethland, and then turning it selfe trendeth afterwards towards the Southeast and by East, unto the countrey of Moscovie and Russia, and stretcheth directly unto Cathay. And that this is true, the navigations which the English men have of late made, intending to discover Cathay, in the time of Edward the sixt, king of England, are very sufficient witnesses. For in the mids of their voiage, lighting by chance upon the coast of Moscovie (where they found then reigning John Vasiliwich Emperor of Russia, and great duke of Moscovia, who after he had, to his great delight and admiration, seene the English men, entertained them with exceeding great curtesies) found this sea to be navigable, and not frozen.

Which navigation to Cathay, although it be not as yet thoroughly knowen, yet if with often frequenting the same, and by long use and knowledge of those seas it bee continued, it is like to make a wonderfull change and revolution in the state of this our part of the world.

The testimonie of Gerardus Mercator in his last large Mappe of Europe, touching the notable discoveries of the English, made of Moscovie by the Northeast.

THE most famous navigation of the English men by the Northeast sea hath offered unto me a great occasion, and certaine direction for the reformation of the mappe of Europe: which discoverie hath the Northerne parts of Finmarke, Lapland, and Moscovie, laied out according to the just elevation and the quarters of the world. And further, the true observation of the latitude of the city of Mosco, made by the foresaid Englishmen, hath yeilded me an infallible rule, for the correcting of the situation of the inland countries: which notable helps being ministred unto me, I thought it my duetie to exhibite to the world this Mappe, more exact and perfect then hitherto it hath bene published.

Another testimonie of Joannes Metellus Sequanus concerning the same Navigation and Discoveries in his Preface prefixed before Osorius de rebus gestis Emanuelis Regis Portugalliæ, written about the yeere, 1574.

BUT least all and the whole glory of discovering the Ocean sea should be ascribed to the Spaniards, the Englishmen about twentie yeeres past, by a new navigation into Moscovie, discovered the Northeast partes. For they by reason of the warres of Swethland being hindered from the traffique of the Moscovites and of the Narve in Liefland, opened a passage for themselves by the Ocean sea, beyond the Northerne latitude of 70. degrees : having in their course on the one side the coastes of Norway, Finmark, Lapland, Serickfin and Biarmia : On the other side the coast of Gronland. Which voyage the Hollanders afterwarde entred into, but not without some conflict with the English. They cary thither old plate and course linnen cloth, and all kind of small Mercerie wares, serving for the apparelling of men and women, as linnen, and silke girdles, garters, purses, knives, and many such like things. And they bring away from the Moscovites, all kinde of precious Furres, and Salmons salted and dried in the smoke.

The miraculous victory atchieved by the English Fleete, under the discreet and happy conduct of the right honourable, right prudent, and valiant lord, the L. Charles Howard, L. high Admirall of England, &c. Upon the Spanish huge Armada sent in the yeere 1588. for the invasion of England, together with the wofull and miserable successe of the said Armada afterward, upon the coasts of Norway, of the Scottish Western Islands, of Ireland, of Spaine, of France, and of England, &c. Recorded in Latine by Emanuel van Meteran in the 15. booke of his history of the low Countreys.

HAVING in part declared the strange and wonderfull events of the yeere eightie eight, which hath bene so long time foretold by ancient prophesies ; we will now make relation of the most notable and great enterprise of all others which were in the foresaid yeere atchieved, in order as it was done. Which exploit (although in very deed it was not performed in any part of the low Countreys) was

intended for their ruine and destruction. And it was the expedition which the Spanish king, having a long time determined the same in his minde, and having consulted thereabout with the Pope, set foorth and undertooke against England and the low Countreys. To the end that he might subdue the Realme of England, and reduce it unto his catholique Religion, and by that meanes might be sufficiently revenged for the disgrace, contempt and dishonour, which hee (having 34. yeeres before enforced them to the Popes obedience) had endured of the English nation, and for divers other injuries which had taken deepe impression in his thoughts. And also for that hee deemed this to bee the most readie and direct course, whereby hee might recover his hereditarie possession of the lowe Countreys, having restrained the inhabitants from sayling upon the coast of England. Which verily, upon most weighty arguments and evident reasons, was thought would undoubtly have come to passe, considering the great abundance and store of all things necessary wherewith those men were furnished, which had the managing of that action committed unto them. But now let us describe the matter more particularly.

The Spanish King having with small fruite and commoditie, for above twentie yeeres together, waged warre against the Netherlanders, after deliberation with his counsellors thereabout, thought it most convenient to assault them once againe by Sea, which had bene attempted sundry times heretofore, but not with forces sufficient. Unto the which expedition it stode him now in hand to joyne great puissance, as having the English people his professed enemies; whose Island is so situate, that it may either greatly helpe or hinder all such as saile into those parts. For which cause hee thought good first of all to invade England, being perswaded by his Secretary Escovedo, and by divers other well experienced Spaniards and Dutchmen, and by many English fugitives, that the conquest of that Iland was lesse difficult then the conquest of Holland and Zeland. Moreover the Spaniards were of opinion, that it would bee farre more behoveful for their King to conquere England and the lowe Countreys all at once, then to be constrained continually to maintaine a warlike Navie to defend his East and West Indie Fleetes, from the English Drake, and from such like valiant enemies.

And for the same purpose the king Catholique had given commandement long before in Italy and Spaine, that a great quantitie of timber should be felled for the building of shippes; and had besides made great preparation of things and furniture requisite for such an expedition; as namely in founding of brasen Ordinance, in storing up of corne and victuals, in trayning of men to use warlike weapons, in leavying and mustering of souldiers: insomuch that about the beginning of the yeere 1588. he had finished such a mightie Navie, and brought it into Lisbon haven, as never the like had before that time sailed upon the Ocean sea.

A very large and particular description of this Navie was put in print and published by the Spaniards; wherein were set downe the number, names, and burthens of the shippes, the number of Mariners and souldiers throughout the whole Fleete; likewise the quantitie of their Ordinance, of their armour, of bullets, of match, of gun-powder, of victuals, and of all their Navall furniture was in the saide description particularized. Unto all these were added the names of the Governours, Captaines, Noblemen and gentlemen voluntaries, of whom there was so great a multitude, that scarce was there any family of accompt, or any one principall man throughout all Spaine, that had not a brother, sonne or kinseman in that Fleete: who all of them were in good hope to purchase unto themselves in that Navie (as they termed it) invincible, endlesse glory and renowne, and to possesse themselves of great Seigniories and riches in England, and in the lowe Countreys. But because the said description was translated and published out of Spanish into divers other languages, we will here onely make an abridgement or brieve rehearsall thereof.

Portugal furnished and set foorth under the conduct of the duke of Medina Sidonia generall of the Fleete, ten Galeons, two Zabraes, 1300. Mariners, 3300. souldiers, 300. great pieces, with all requisite furniture. Biscay, under the conduct of John Martines de Ricalde Admiral of the whole Fleete, set forth tenne Galeons, 4. Pataches, 700. mariners, 2000. souldiers, 250. great pieces, &c.

Guipusco, under the conduct of Michael de Oquendo, tenne Galeons, 4. Pataches, 700. mariners, 2000. souldiers, 310. great pieces.

Italy with the Levant Islands, under Martine de Vertendona, 10. Galeons, 800. mariners, 2000. souldiers, 310. great pieces, &c.

Castile, under Diego Flores de Valdez, 14. Galeons, two Pataches, 1700. mariners, 2400. souldiers, and 380. great pieces, &c.

Andaluzia, under the conduct of Petro de Valdez, 10. Galeons, one Patache, 800. mariners, 2400. souldiers, 280. great pieces, &c.

Item, under the conduct of John Lopez de Medina, 23. great Flemish hulkes, with 700. mariners, 3200. souldiers, and 400. great pieces.

Item, under Hugo de Moncada, foure Galliasses containing 1200. gally-slaves, 460. mariners, 870. souldiers, 200. great pieces, &c.

Item, under Diego de Mandrana, foure Gallies of Portugall, with 888. gally-slaves, 360. mariners, 20. great pieces, and other requisite furniture.

Item, under Anthonie de Mendoza, 22. Pataches and Zabraes, with 574. mariners, 488. souldiers, and 193. great pieces.

Besides the ships aforementioned there were 20. caravels rowed with oares, being appointed to performe necessary services unto the greater ships: insomuch that all the ships appertayning to this Navie amounted unto the summe of 150. eche one being sufficiently provided of furniture and victuals.

The number of Mariners in the saide Fleete were above 8000. of slaves 2088. of souldiers 20000. (besides noble men and gentlemen voluntaries) of great cast pieces 2650. The foresaid ships were of an huge and incredible capacitie and receipt. For the whole Fleete was large ynough to containe the burthen of 60. thousand tunnes.

The Galeons were 64. in number, being of an huge bignesse, and very stately built, being of marveilous force also, and so high, that they resembled great castles, most fit to defend themselves and to withstand any assault, but in giving any other ships the encounter farre inferiour unto the English and Dutch ships, which can with great dexteritie weild and turne themselves at all assayes. The upperworke of the said Galeons was of thicknesse and strength sufficient to beare off musket-shot. The lower worke and the timbers thereof were out of measure strong, being framed of planks and ribs foure or five

foote in thickeſſe, inſomuch that no bullets could pierce them, but ſuch as were diſcharged hard at hand : which afterward proved true, for a great number of bullets were founde to ſticke faſt within the maſſie ſubſtance of thoſe thicke planks. Great and well pitched Cables were twined about the maſts of their ſhippes, to ſtrengthen them againſt the battery of ſhot.

The Galliaſſes were of ſuch bigneſſe, that they contained within them chambers, chapels, turrets, pulpits, and other commodities of great houſes. The Galliaſſes were rowed with great oares, there being in eche one of them 300. ſlaves for the ſame purpoſe, and were able to do great ſervice with the force of their Ordinance. All theſe together with the residue aforenamed were furniſhed and beautified with trumpets, ſtreamers, banners, warlike enſignes, and other ſuch like ornaments.

Their pieces of braſen ordinance were 1600. and of yron a 1000.

The bullets thereto belonging were 120. thouſand.

Item of gun-powder 5600. quintals. Of matche 1200. quintals.

Of muſkets and kaleivers 7000. Of haleberts and partiſans 10000.

Moreover they had great ſtore of canons, double-canons, culverings and field-pieces for land ſervices.

Likewiſe they were provided of all inſtruments neceſſary on land to convey and transport their furniture from place to place ; as namely of carts, wheelles, wagons, &c. Alſo they had ſpades, mattocks and baſkets to ſet pioners on worke. They had in like ſort great ſtore of mules and horſes, and whatſoever elſe was requiſite for a land-armie. They were ſo well ſtored of biſcuit, that for the ſpace of halfe a yeere, they might allow eche perſon in the whole Fleete halfe a quintall every moneth ; whereof the whole ſumme amounteth unto an hundred thouſand quintals.

Likewiſe of wine they had 147. thouſand pipes, ſufficient alſo for halfe a yeeres expedition. Of bacon 6500. quintals. Of cheeſe three thouſand quintals. Beſides fiſh, riſe, beanes, pease, oile, vineger, &c.

Moreover they had 12000. pipes of freſh-water, and all other neceſſary proviſion, as namely candles, lanternes, lampes, ſailes, hempe, oxe-hides and lead to ſtop holes that ſhould be made with the battery of gunſhot. To be

short, they brought all things expedient either for a Fleete by sea, or for an armie by land.

This Navie (as Diego Pimentelli afterward confessed) was esteemed by the King himselfe to containe 32000. persons, and to cost him every day 30. thousand ducates.

There were in the said Navie five terzaes of Spaniards, (which terzaes the Frenchmen call Regiments) under the commaund of five governours termed by the Spaniards, Masters of the field, and amongst the rest there were many olde and expert souldiers chosen out of the garisons of Sicilie, Naples, and Terçera. Their Captaines or Colonels were Diego Pimentelli, Don Francisco de Toledo, Don Alonço de Luçon, Don Nicolas de Isla, Don Augustin de Mexia; who had eche of them 32. companies under their conduct. Besides the which companies there were many bands also of Castilians and Portugals, every one of which had their peculiar governours, captaines, officers, colours and weapons.

It was not lawfull for any man, under grievous penaltie, to cary any women or harlots in the Fleete: for which cause the women hired certaine shippes, wherein they sailed after the Navie: some of the which being driven by tempest arrived upon the coast of France.

The generall of this mightie Navie, was Don Alonso Perez de Guzman duke of Medina Sidonia, Lord of S. Lucar, and knight of the golden Fleece: by reason that the Marques of santa Cruz appointed for the same dignitie, deceased before the time.

John Martines de Ricalde was Admirall of the Fleete.

Francis Bovadilla was chiefe Marshall: who all of them had their officers fit and requisite for the guiding and managng of such a multitude. Likewise Martin Alorcon was appointed Vicar generall of the Inquisition, being accompanied with more then a hundreth Monkes, to wit, Jesuites, Capuchines, and friers mendicant. Besides whom also there were Phisitians, Chirurgians, Apothecaries, and whatsoever else pertained unto the hospitall.

Over and besides the forenamed governours and officers being men of chiefe note, there were 124. very noble and worthy Gentlemen, which went voluntarily of their owne costs and charges, to the ende they might see fashions, learne experience, and attaine unto glory. Amongst whom was the prince of Ascoli, Alonzo de Leiva, the

marques de Pennafiel, the marques de Ganes, the marques de Barlango, count de Paredes, count de Yelvas, and divers other marqueses and earles of the honourable families of Mendoza, of Toledo, of Pachieco, of Cordova, of Guzman, of Manriques, and a great number of others.

While the Spaniards were furnishing this their Navie, the duke of Parma, at the direction of king Philip, made great preparation in the low Countreys, to give ayd & assistance unto the Spaniards; building ships for the same purpose, and sending for Pilots and ship-wrights out of Italy.

In Flanders hee caused certaine deepe chanel to be made, and among the rest the chanell of Yper commonly called Yper-lee, employing some thousands of workemen about that service: to the end that by the said chanel he might transport ships from Antwerp and Ghendt to Bruges, where hee had assembled above a hundreth small ships called hoyes being well stored with victuals, which hoyes hee was determined to have brought into the sea by the way of Sluys, or else to have conveyed them by the saide Yper-lee being now of greater depth, into any port of Flanders whatsoever.

In the river of Waten he caused 70. ships with flat bottomes to be built, every one of which should serve to cary 30. horses, having eche of them bridges likewise for the horses to come on boord, or to goe foorth on land. Of the same fashion he had provided 200. other vessels at Neiuport, but not so great. And at Dunkerk hee procured 28. ships of warre, such as were there to be had, and caused a sufficient number of Mariners to be levied at Hamburg, Breme, Emden, and at other places. Hee put in the ballast of the said ships, great store of beames of thicke planks, being hollow and beset with yron pikes beneath, but on eche side full of claspes and hookes, to joyne them together.

Hee had likewise at Greveling provided 20. thousand of caske, which in a short space might be compact and joyned together with nailes and cords, and reduced into the forme of a bridge. To be short, whatsoever things were requisite for the making of bridges, and for the barring and stopping up of havens mouthes with stakes, posts, and other meanes, he commanded to be made ready. Moreover not farre from Neiuport haven, he had caused

a great pile of wooden fagots to be layd, and other furniture to be brought for the rearing up of a mount. The most part of his ships contained two ovens a piece to bake bread in, with a great number of saddles, bridles, and such other like apparell for horses. They had horses likewise, which after their landing should serve to convey, and draw engines, field-pieces, and other warlike provisions.

Neere unto Neiuport he had assembled an armie, over the which he had ordained Camillo de Monte to be Camp-master. This army consisted of 30. bands or ensignes of Italians, of tenne bands of Wallons, eight of Scots, and eight of Burgundians, all which together amount unto 56. bands, every band containing a hundreth persons. Neare unto Dixmud there were mustered 80. bands of Dutch men, sixtie of Spaniards, sixe of high Germans, and seven bands of English fugitives, under the conduct of sir William Stanlie an English knight.

In the suburbes of Cortreight there were 4000. horsemen together with their horses in a readinesse: and at Waten 900. horses, with the troupe of the Marques del Gwasto Captaine generall of the horsemen.

Unto this famous expedition and presupposed victorie, many potentates, princes, and honourable personages hied themselves: out of Spaine the prince of Melito called the duke of Pastrana and taken to be the sonne of one Ruygomes de Silva, but in very deed accompted among the number of king Philips base sonnes. Also the Marques of Burgrave, one of the sonnes of Archiduke Ferdinand and Philippa Welsera. Vespasian Gonsaga of the family of Mantua, being for chivalry a man of great renowne, and heretofore Vice-roy in Spaine. Item John Medices base sonne unto the duke of Florence. And Amadas of Savoy, the duke of Savoy his base sonne, with many others of inferiour degrees.

Likewise Pope Sixtus quintus for the setting forth of the foresaid expedition, as they use to do against Turkes & infidels, published a Cruzado, with most ample indulgences which were printed in great numbers. These vaine buls the English and Dutchmen deriding, sayd that the devill at all passages lay in ambush like a thiefe, no whit regarding such letters of safe conduct. Some there be which affirme that the Pope had bestowed the realme of England with the title of Defensor fidei, upon the

king of Spaine, giving him charge to invade it upon this condition, that hee should enjoy the conquered realm, as a vassal and tributarie, in that regard, unto the sea of Rome. To this purpose the said Pope proffered a million of gold, the one halfe thereof to be paied in readie money, and the other halfe when the realme of England or any famous port thereof were subdued. And for the greater furtherance of the whole businesse, he dispatched one D. Allen an English man (whom hee had made Cardinall for the same ende and purpose) into the Low countries, unto whom he committed the administration of all matters ecclesiasticall throughout England. This Allen being enraged against his owne native countrey, caused the Popes bull to be translated into English, meaning upon the arrival of the Spanish fleete, to have it so published in England. By which Bull the excommunications of the two former Popes were confirmed, and the Queenes most sacred Majestie was by them most unjustly deprived of all princely titles and dignities, her subjects being enjoined to performe obedience unto the duke of Parma, and unto the Popes Legate.

But that all matters might be performed with greater secrecie, and that the whole expedition might seeme rather to be intended against the Low countries, then against England, and that the English people might be perswaded that all was but bare words & threatnings, and that nought would come to effect, there was a solemne meeting appointed at Borborch in Flanders for a treatie of peace betweene her majestie and the Spanish king.

Against which treatie the united provinces making open protestation, used all meanes possible to hinder it, alleaging that it was more requisite to consult how the enemy now pressing upon them might be repelled from off their frontiers. Howbeit some there were in England that greatly urged and prosecuted this league, saying, that it would be very commodious unto the state of the realme, as well in regard of traffique and navigation, as for the avoiding of great expenses to maintaine the warres, affirming also, that at the same time peace might easily and upon reasonable conditions be obtained of the Spaniard. Others thought by this meanes to divert some other way, or to keepe backe the navy now comming

upon them, and so to escape the danger of that tempest. Howsoever it was, the duke of Parma by these wiles enchanted and dazeled the eyes of many English & Dutch men that were desirous of peace: whereupon it came to passe, that England and the united provinces prepared in deed some defence to withstand that dreadfull expedition and huge Armada, but nothing in comparison of the great danger which was to be feared, albeit the constant report of the whole expedition had continued rife among them for a long time before. Howbeit they gave care unto the relation of certaine that sayd, that this navie was provided to conduct and waft over the Indian Fleets: which seemed the more probable because the Spaniards were deemed not to be men of so small discretion as to adventure those huge and monstrous ships upon the shallow and dangerous chanel of England.

At length when as the French king about the end of May signified unto her Majestie in plaine termes that she should stand upon her guard, because he was now most certainly enformed, that there was so dangerous an invasion imminent upon her realme, that he feared much least all her land and sea-forces would be sufficient to withstand it, &c. then began the Queens Majestie more carefully to gather her forces together, & to furnish her own ships of warre, & the principall ships of her subjects with souldiers, weapons, and other necessary provision. The greatest and strongest ships of the whole navy she sent unto Plimmouth under the conduct of the right honorable Lord Charles Howard, lord high Admirall of England, &c. Under whom the renoumed Knight Sir Francis Drake was appointed Vice-admiral. The number of these ships was about an hundreth. The lesser ships being 30. or 40. in number, and under the conduct of the lord Henry Seimer were commanded to lie between Dover and Caleis.

On land likewise throughout the whole realme, souldiers were mustered and trained in all places, and were committed unto the most resolute and faithfull captaines. And whereas it was commonly given out that the Spaniard having once united himselfe unto the duke of Parma, ment to invade by the river of Thames, there was at Tilburie in Essex over-against Gravesend, a mightie army encamped, and on both sides of the river fortifications were erected, according to the prescription

of Frederike Genebelli an Italian enginier. Likewise there were certaine ships brought to make a bridge, though it were very late first. Unto the sayd army came in proper person the Queens most roiall Majestie, representing Tomyris that Scythian warlike princesse, or rather divine Pallas her selfe. Also there were other such armies levied in England.

The principall catholique Recusants (least they should stirre up any tumult in the time of the Spanish invasion) were sent to remaine at certaine convenient places, as namely in the Isle of Ely and at Wisbich. And some of them were sent unto other places, to wit, unto sundry bishops and noblemen, where they were kept from endangering the state of the common wealth, and of her sacred Majestie, who of her most gracious clemencie gave expresse commandement, that they should be intreated with all humanitie and friendship.

The provinces of Holland and Zeland, &c. giving credite unto their intelligence out of Spain, made preparation to defend themselves: but because the Spanish ships were described unto them to be so huge, they relied partly upon the shallow and dangerous seas all along their coasts. Wherefore they stood most in doubt of the duke of Parma his small and flat-bottomed ships. Howbeit they had all their ships of warre to the number of 90. and above, in a readinesse for all assayes: the greater part whereof were of a small burthen, as being more meete to saile upon their rivers and shallow seas: and with these ships they besieged all the havens in Flanders, beginning at the mouth of Scheld, or from the towne of Lillo, and holding on to Greveling and almost unto Caleis, & fortified all their sea-townes with strong garrisons.

Against the Spanish fleets arrivall, they had provided 25. or 30. good ships, committing the government of them unto Admirall Lonck, whom they commanded to joine himselfe unto the lord Henry Seymer, lying betweene Dover and Cales. And when as the foresaid ships, (whereof the greater part besieged the haven of Dunkerke) were driven by tempest into Zeland, Justin of Nassau the Admiral of Zeland supplied that squadron with 35. ships being of no great burthen, but excellently furnished with gunnes, mariners and souldiers in great abundance, and especially with 1200. brave Musquetiers, having bene accustomed unto sea-fights, and being chosen

out of all their companies for the same purpose: and so the said Justin of Nassau kept such diligent ward in that Station that the duke of Parma could not issue forth with his navy into the sea out of any part of Flanders.

In the meane while the Spanish Armada set saile out of the haven of Lisbon upon the 19. of May, An. Dom. 1588. under the conduct of the duke of Medina Sidonia, directing their course for the Baie of Corunna, aliás the Groine of Gallicia, where they tooke in souldiers and warlike provision, this port being in Spaine the neerest unto England. As they were sailing along, there arose such a mightie tempest, that the whole Fleete was dispersed, so that when the duke was returned unto his company, he could not escry above 80. ships in all, whereunto the residue by litle and litle joyned themselves, except eight which had their mastes blown over-board. One of the foure gallies of Portingal escaped very hardly, retiring her selfe into the haven. The other three were upon the coast of Baion in France, by the assistance and courage of one David Gwin an English captive (whom the French and Turkish slaves aided in the same enterprise) utterly disabled and vanquished: one of the three being first overcome, which conquered the two other, with the slaughter of their governours and souldiers, and among the rest of Don Diego de Mandrana with sundry others: and so those slaves arriving in France with the three Gallies, set themselves at libertie.

The navy having refreshed themselves at the Groine, & receiving daily commandement from the king to hasten their journey, hoised up sailes the 11. day of July, and so holding on their course till the 19. of the same moneth, they came then unto the mouth of the narrow seas or English chanel. From whence (striking their sailes in the meane season) they dispatched certaine of their smal ships unto the duke of Parma. At the same time the Spanish Fleete was escried by an English pinasse, captaine whereof was M. Thomas Fleming, after they had bene advertised of the Spaniards expedition by their scoutes and espials, which having ranged along the coast of Spaine, were lately returned home into Plimmouth for a new supply of victuals and other necessities, who considering the foresayd tempest, were of opinion that the navy being of late dispersed and tossed up and downe

the maine Ocean, was by no means able to performe their intended voiage.

Moreover, the L. Charles Howard L. high admiral of England had received letters from the court, signifying unto him that her Majestie was advertised that the Spanish Fleete would not come foorth, nor was to be any longer expected for, and therefore, that upon her Majesties commandement he must send backe foure of her tallest and strongest ships unto Chattam.

The lord high Admiral of England being thus on the sudden, namely upon the 19. of July about foure of the clocke in the afternoone, enformed by the pinasse of captaine Fleming aforesaid, of the Spaniards approch, with all speed and diligence possible he warped his ships, and caused his mariners and souldiers (the greater part of whom was absent for the cause aforesayd) to come on board, and that with great trouble and difficultie, insomuch that the lord Admiral himselfe was faine to lie without in the road with sixe ships onely all that night, after the which many others came foorth of the haven. The very next day being the 20. of July about high noone, was the Spanish Fleete escried by the English, which with a Southwest wind came sailing along, and passed by Plimmouth: in which regard (according to the judgement of many skilful navigators) they greatly overshot themselves, whereas it had bene more commodious for them to have staid themselves there, considering that the Englishmen being as yet unprovided, greatly relied upon their owne forces, and knew not the estate of the Spanish navy. Moreover, this was the most convenient port of all others, where they might with greater securitie have bene advertised of the English forces, and how the commons of the land stood affected, and might have stirred up some mutinie, so that hither they should have bent all their puissance, and from hence the duke of Parma might more easily have conveied his ships.

But this they were prohibited to doe by the king and his counsell, and were expressly commanded to unite themselves unto the souldiers and ships of the said duke of Parma, and so to bring their purpose to effect. Which was thought to be the most easie and direct course, for that they imagined that the English and Dutch men would be utterly daunted and dismaied thereat, and would each man of them retire unto his owne Province and Porte for

the defence thereof, and transporting the armie of the duke under the protection of their huge navy, they might invade England.

It is reported that the chiefe commanders in the navy, and those which were more skilfull in navigation, to wit, John Martines de Ricalde, Diego Flores de Valdez, and divers others found fault that they were bound unto so strict directions and instructions, because that in such a case many particular accidents ought to concurre and to be respected at one and the same instant, that is to say, the opportunitie of the wind, weather, time, tide, and ebbe, wherein they might saile from Flanders to England. Oftentimes also the darkenesse and light, the situation of places, the depths and shoulds were to be considered: all which especially depended upon the conveniencie of the windes, and were by so much the more dangerous.

But it seemeth that they were enjoined by their commission to ancre neere unto, or about Caleis, whither the duke of Parma with his ships and all his warrelike provision was to resort, and while the English and Spanish great ships were in the midst of their conflict, to passe by, and to land his souldiers upon the Downes.

The Spanish captives reported that they were determined first to have entred the river of Thames, and thereupon to have passed with small ships up to London, supposing that they might easily winne that rich and flourishing Citie being but meanelly fortified and inhabited with Citizens not accustomed to the warres, who durst not withstand their first encounter, hoping moreover to finde many rebels against her Majestie and popish catholiques, or some favourers of the Scottish queene (which was not long before most justly beheaded) who might be instruments of sedition.

Thus often advertising the duke of Parma of their approach, the 20. of July they passed by Plimmouth, which the English ships pursuing and getting the wind of them, gave them the chase and the encounter, and so both Fleets frankly exchanged their bullets.

The day following which was the 21. of July, the English ships approached within musquet shot of the Spanish: at what time the lorde Charles Howard most hotly and valiantly discharged his Ordinance upon the Spanish Vice-admirall. The Spaniards then well perceiv-

ing the nimblenesse of the English ships in discharging upon the enimie on all sides, gathered themselves close into the forme of an halfe moone, and slackened their sailes, least they should outgoe any of their companie. And while they were proceeding on in this maner, one of their great Galliasses was so furiously battered with shot, that the whole navy was faine to come up rounder together for the safegard thereof: whereby it came to passe that the principall Galleon of Sivill (wherein Don Pedro de Valdez, Vasques de Silva, Alonzo de Sayas, and other noble men were embarqued) falling foule of another shippe, had her fore-mast broken, and by that meanes was not able to keepe way with the Spanish Fleete, neither would the sayde Fleete stay to succour it, but left the distressed Galeon behind. The lord Admirall of England when he saw this ship of Valdez, & thought she had bene voyd of Mariners and Souldiers, taking with him as many shippes as he could, passed by it, that he might not loose sight of the Spanish Fleet that night. For sir Francis Drake (who was notwithstanding appointed to beare out his lanterne that night) was giving of chase unto five great Hulkes which had separated themselves from the Spanish Fleete: but finding them to be Easterlings, he dismissed them. The lord Admirall all that night following the Spanish lanterne in stead of the English, found himselfe in the morning to be in the midst of his enemies Fleete, but when he perceived it, hee cleanly conveyed himselfe out of that great danger.

The day folowing, which was the two and twentie of July, Sir Francis Drake espied Valdez his shippe, whereunto hee sent foorth his pinnasse, and being advertised that Valdez himselfe was there, and 450. persons with him, he sent him word that he should yeeld himselfe. Valdez for his honors sake caused certaine conditions to be propounded unto Drake: who answered Valdez that he was not now at laisure to make any long parle, but if he would yeeld himselfe, he should find him friendly and tractable: howbeit if he had resolved to die in fight, he should proove Drake to be no dastard.

Upon which answer Valdez and his company understanding that they were fallen into the hands of fortunate Drake, being mooved with the renoume and celebritie of his name, with one consent yeelded themselves, and found him very favourable unto them. Then Valdez with 40.

or 50. noblemen and gentlemen pertaining unto him, came on boord sir Francis Drakes ship. The residue of his company were caried unto Plimmouth, where they were detained a yere & an halfe for their ransome.

Valdez comming unto Drake and humbly kissing his hand protested unto him, that he and his had resolved to die in battell, had they not by good fortune fallen into his power, whom they knew to be right curteous and gentle, and whom they had heard by generall report to bee most favourable unto his vanquished foe: insomuch that he sayd it was to bee doubted whether his enimies had more cause to admire and love him for his great, valiant, and prosperous exploites, or to dread him for his singular felicitie and wisdom, which ever attended upon him in the warres, and by the which hee had attained unto so great honour. With that Drake embraced him and gave him very honourable entertainment, feeding him at his owne table, and lodging him in his cabbin.

Here Valdez began to recount unto Drake the forces of all the Spanish Fleet, and how foure mightie Gallies were separated by tempest from them: and also how they were determined first to have put into Plimmouth haven, not expecting to bee repelled thence by the English ships which they thought could by no meanes withstand their impregnable forces, perswading themselves that by means of their huge Fleete, they were become lords and commaunders of the maine Ocean. For which cause they marveled much how the English men in their small ships durst approch within musket shot of the Spaniards mightie wooden castles, gathering the wind of them with many other such like attempts.

Immediately after, Valdez and his company, being a man of principal authoritie in the Spanish Fleete, and being descended of one and the same familie with that Valdez, which in the yeere 1574. besieged Leiden in Holland, were sent captives into England. There were in the sayd ship 55. thousand ducates in ready money of the Spanish kings gold, which the souldiers merily shared among themselves.

The same day was set on fire one of their greatest shippes, being Admirall of the squadron of Guipusco, and being the shippe of Michael de Oquendo Vice-admirall of the whole Fleete, which contained great store of gunnepowder and other warrelike provision. The upper

part onely of this shippe was burnt, and all the persons therein contained (except a very few) were consumed with fire. And thereupon it was taken by the English, and brought into England with a number of miserable burnt and skorched Spaniards. Howbeit the gunpowder (to the great admiration of all men) remained whole and unconsumed.

In the meane season the lord Admirall of England in his ship called the *Arke-royall*, all that night pursued the Spaniards so neere, that in the morning hee was almost left alone in the enimies Fleete, and it was foure of the clocke at afternoone before the residue of the English Fleet could overtake him.

At the same time Hugo de Moncada governour of the foure Galliassees, made humble sute unto the Duke of Medina that he might be licenced to encounter the Admirall of England: which libertie the duke thought not good to permit unto him, because hee was loth to exceed the limites of his commision and charge.

Upon Tuesday which was the three and twentie of July, the navie being come over against Portland, the wind began to turne Northerly, insomuch that the Spaniards had a fortunate and fit gale to invade the English. But the Englishmen having lesser and nimbler Ships, recovered againe the vantage of the winde from the Spaniards, whereat the Spaniards seemed to bee more incensed to fight then before. But when the English Fleete had continually and without intermission from morning to night, beaten and battered them with all their shot both great and small: the Spaniardes uniting themselves, gathered their whole Fleete close together into a roundell, so that it was apparant that they ment not as yet to invade others, but onely to defend themselves and to make hast unto the place prescribed unto them, which was neere unto Dunkerk, that they might joine forces with the duke of Parma, who was determined to have proceeded secretly with his small shippes under the shadow and protection of the great ones, and so had intended circumspectly to performe the whole expedition.

This was the most furious and bloodie skirmish of all, in which the lord Admirall of England continued fighting amidst his enimies Fleete, and seeing one of his Captaines afarre off, hee spake unto him in these wordes: Oh George what doest thou? Wilt thou nowe frustrate my hope and

opinion conceived of thee? Wilt thou forsake mee nowe? With which wordes hee being enflamed, approched foorthwith, encountered the enemie, and did the part of a most valiant Captaine. His name was George Fenner, a man that had bene conversant in many Sea-fights.

In this conflict there was a certaine great Venetian ship with other small ships surprised and taken by the English.

The English navie in the meane while increased, whereunto out of all Havens of the Realme resorted ships and men: for they all with one accord came flocking thither as unto a set field, where immortall fame and glory was to be attained, and faithfull service to bee performed unto their prince and country.

In which number there were many great and honourable personages, as namely, the Erles of Oxford, of Northumberland, of Cumberland, &c. with many Knights and Gentlemen: to wit, Sir Thomas Cecill, Sir Robert Cecill, Sir Walter Raleigh, Sir William Hatton, Sir Horatio Palavicini, Sir Henry Brooke, Sir Robert Carew, Sir Charles Blunt, Master Ambrose Willoughbie, Master Henry Nowell, Master Thomas Gerard, Master Henry Dudley, Master Edward Darcie, Master Arthur Gorge, Master Thomas Woodhouse, Master William Harvie, &c. And so it came to passe that the number of the English shippes amounted unto an hundreth: which when they were come before Dover, were increased to an hundred and thirtie, being notwithstanding of no proportionable bignesse to encounter with the Spaniards, except two or three and twentie of the Queenes greater shippes, which onely, by reason of their presence, bred an opinion in the Spaniardes mindes concerning the power of the English Fleet: the mariners and souldiers whereof were esteemed to be twelve thousand.

The foure and twentie of July when as the sea was calme, and no winde stirring, the fight was onely betweene the foure great Galleasses and the English shippes, which being rowed with Oares, had great vauntage of the sayde English shippes, which notwithstanding for all that would not bee forced to yeeld, but discharged their chaine-shot to cut asunder their Cables and Cordage of the Galleasses, with many other such Stratagemes. They were nowe constrained to send their men on land for a newe supplie of Gunne-powder, whereof they were in great skarcitie,

by reason they had so frankly spent the greater part in the former conflicts.

The same day, a Counsell being assembled, it was decreed that the English Fleete should bee devided into foure squadrons: the principall whereof was committed unto the lord Admirall: the second, to Sir Francis Drake: the third, to Captaine Hawkins: the fourth, to Captaine Frobisher.

The Spaniards in their sailing observed very diligent and good order, sayling three and foure, and sometimes more ships in a ranke, and folowing close up one after another, and the stronger and greater ships protecting the lesser.

The five and twentie of July when the Spaniardes were come over-against the Isle of Wight, the lord Admirall of England being accompanied with his best ships, (namely the Lion, Captaine whereof was the lord Thomas Howard: The Elizabeth Jonas under the commandement of Sir Robert Southwel sonne in lawe unto the lord Admirall: the Beare under the lord Sheffield nephew unto the lord Admirall: the Victorie under Captaine Barker: and the Galeon Leicester under the forenamed Captaine George Fenner) with great valour and dreadfull thundering of shot, encountered the Spanish Admiral being in the very midst of all his Fleet. Which when the Spaniard perceived, being assisted with his strongest ships, he came forth and entered a terrible combate with the English: for they bestowed each on other the broad sides, and mutually discharged all their Ordinance, being within one hundred, or an hundred and twentie yards one of another.

At length the Spaniardes hoised up their sayles, and againe gathered themselves up close into the forme of a roundel. In the meane while Captaine Frobisher had engaged himselfe into a most dangerous conflict. Whereupon the lord Admirall comming to succour him, found that hee had valiantly and discretely behaved himselfe, and that hee had wisely and in good time given over the fight, because that after so great a batterie he had sustained no damage.

For which cause the day following, being the sixe and twentie of July, the lord Admirall rewarded him with the order of knighthood, together with the lord Thomas Howard, the lord Sheffield, M. John Hawkins and others.

The same day the lord Admirall received intelligence

from Newhaven in France, by certaine of his Pinnasses, that all things were quiet in France, and that there was no preparation of sending aide unto the Spaniards, which was greatly feared from the Guisian faction, and from the Leaguers : but there was a false rumour spread all about, that the Spaniards had conquered England.

The seven and twentie of July, the Spaniards about the sunne-setting were come over-against Dover, and rode at ancre within the sight of Caleis, intending to hold on for Dunkerk, expecting there to joyne with the duke of Parma his forces, without which they were able to doe litle or nothing.

Likewise the English Fleete following up hard upon them, ancred just by them within culvering-shot. And here the lord Henry Seymer united himselfe unto the lord Admiral with his fleete of 30. ships which road before the mouth of Thames.

As the Spanish navie therefore lay at ancre, the duke of Medina sent certaine messengers unto the duke of Parma, with whom upon that occasion many Noblemen and Gentlemen went to refresh themselves on land : and amongst the rest the prince of Ascoli, being accounted the kings base sonne, and a very proper and towardly yong gentleman, to his great good, went on shore, who was by so much the more fortunate, in that hee had not opportunitie to returne on boord the same ship, out of which he was departed, because that in returning home it was cast away upon the Irish coast, with all the persons contained therein.

The duke of Parma being advertised of the Spanish Fleetes arrivall upon the coast of England, made all the haste hee could to bee present himselfe in this expedition for the performance of his charge : vainely perswading himselfe that nowe by the meanes of Cardinall Allen, hee should be crowned king of England, and for that cause hee had resigned the governement of the Lowe countries unto Count Mansfeld the elder. And having made his vows unto S. Mary of Hall in Henault (whom he went to visite for his blind devotions sake) hee returned toward Bruges the 28. of July.

The next day travelling to Dunkerk hee heard the thundering Ordinance of either Fleet : and the same evening being come to Dixmud, hee was given to understand the hard successe of the Spanish Fleete.

Upon Tuesday which was the thirtieth of July, about high noone, hee came to Dunkerk, when as al the Spanish Fleete was now passed by: neither durst any of his ships in the meane space come foorth to assist the sayd Spanish Fleete for feare of five and thirtie warrelike ships of Holland and Zeland, which there kept watch and warde under the conduct of the Admirall Justin of Nassau.

The foresayd five and thirtie shippes were furnished with most cunning mariners and olde expert souldiers, amongst the which were twelve hundred Muskietiers, whom the States had chosen out of all their garisons, and whom they knew to have bene heretofore experienced in sea-fights.

This navie was given especially in charge not to suffer any shippe to come out of the Haven, nor to permit any Zabraes, Pataches or other small vessels of the Spanish Fleete (which were more likely to aide the Dunkerkers) to enter thereinto, for the greater ships were not to be feared by reason of the shallow sea in that place. Howbeit the prince of Parma his forces being as yet unreadie, were not come on boord his shippes, onely the English Fugitives being seven hundred in number under the conduct of Sir William Stanley, came in fit time to have bene embarked, because they hoped to give the first assault against England. The residue shewed themselves unwilling and loath to depart, because they sawe but a few mariners, who were by constraint drawne into this expedition, and also because they had very bare provision of bread, drinke, and other necessary victuals.

Moreover, the shippes of Holland and Zeland stood continually in their sight, threatening shot and powder, and many inconveniences unto them: for feare of which shippes, the Mariners and Sea-men secretly withdrew themselves both day and night, least that the duke of Parma his souldiers should compell them by maine force to goe on boord, and to breake through the Hollanders Fleete, which all of them judged to bee impossible by reason of the straightnesse of the Haven.

But it seemeth that the Duke of Parma and the Spaniards grounded upon a vaine and presumptuous expectation, that all the ships of England and of the Low countreys would at the first sight of the Spanish and Dunkerk Navie have betaken themselves to flight,

yeelding them sea roome, and endeavouring onely to defend themselves, their havens, and sea coasts from invasion. Wherefore their intent and purpose was, that the Duke of Parma in his small and flat-bottomed shippes, should as it were under the shadow and wings of the Spanish fleet, convey over all his troupes, armour, and warlike provision, and with their forces so united, should invade England; or while the English fleete were busied in fight against the Spanish, should enter upon any part of the coast, which he thought to be most convenient. Which invasion (as the captives afterward confessed) the Duke of Parma thought first to have attempted by the river of Thames; upon the bankes whereof having at his first arrivall landed twenty or thirty thousand of his principall souldiers, he supposed that he might easily have woonne the Citie of London; both because his small shippes should have followed and assisted his land-forces, and also for that the Citie it-selfe was but meanelly fortified and easie to overcome, by reason of the Citizens delicacie and discontinuance from the warres, who with continuall and constant labour might be vanquished, if they yeelded not at the first assault. They were in good hope also to have mette with some rebels against her Majestic, and such as were discontented with the present state, as Papists, and others. Likewise they looked for ayde from the favourers of the Scottish Queene, who was not long before put to death; all which they thought would have stirred up seditions and factions.

Whenas therefore the Spanish fleet rode at anker before Caleis, to the end they might consult with the Duke of Parma what was best to be done according to the Kings commandement, and the present estate of their affaires, and had now (as we will afterward declare) purposed upon the second of August being Friday, with one power and consent to have put their intended businesse in practise; the L. Admirall of England being admonished by her Majesties letters from the Court, thought it most expedient either to drive the Spanish fleet from that place, or at leastwise to give them the encounter: and for that cause (according to her Majesties prescription) he tooke forthwith eight of his woorst & basest ships which came next to hand, & disburthening them of all things which seemed to be of any value, filled them with gun-powder, pitch, brimstone, and with other combustible and fry

matter; and charging all their ordinance with powder, bullets, and stones, he sent the sayd ships upon the 28 of July being Sunday, about two of the clocke after midnight, with the winde and tide against the Spanish fleet: which when they had proceeded a good space, being forsaken of the Pilots, and set on fire, were directly carried upon the King of Spaines Navie: which fire in the dead of the night put the Spaniards into such a perplexity and horreur (for they feared lest they were like unto those terrible ships, which Frederic Jenebelli three yeeres before, at the siege of Antwerpe, had furnished with gun-powder, stones, and dreadfull engines, for the dissolution of the Duke of Parma his bridge, built upon the river of Scheld) that cutting their cables whereon their ankers were fastened, and hoising up their sailes, they betooke themselves very confusedly unto the maine sea.

In this sudden confusion, the principall and greatest of the foure galliasses falling fowle of another ship, lost her rudder: for which cause when she could not be guided any longer, she was by the force of the tide cast into a certaine showld upon the shore of Caleis, where she was immediatly assaulted by divers English pinasses, hoyes, and drumblers.

And as they lay battering of her with their ordinance, and durst not boord her, the L. Admirall sent thither his long boat with an hundreth choise souldiers under the command of Captaine Amias Preston. Upon whose approach their fellowes being more emboldened, did offer to boord the galliasse: against whom the governour thereof and Captaine of all the foure galliasses, Hugo de Moncada, stoutly opposed himselfe, fighting by so much the more valiantly, in that he hoped presently to be succoured by the Duke of Parma. In the meane season, Moncada, after he had endured the conflict a good while, being hitte on the head with a bullet, fell downe starke dead, and a great number of Spaniards also were slaine in his company. The greater part of the residue leaping over-boord into the sea, to save themselves by swimming, were most of them drowned. Howbeit there escaped among others Don Anthonio de Manriques, a principall officer in the Spanish fleet (called by them their Veador generall) together with a few Spaniards besides: which Anthonio was the first man that carried certaine newes of the successe of the fleet into Spaine.

This huge and monstrous galliasse, wherein were contained three hundred slaves to lug at the oares, and foure hundred souldiers, was in the space of three houres rifled in the same place; and there were found amongst divers other commodities 50000 ducats of the Spanish kings treasure. At length when the slaves were released out of their fetters, the English men would have set the sayd ship on fire, which Monsieur Gourdon the governor of Caleis, for feare of the damage which might thereupon ensue to the Towne and Haven, would not permit them to do, but drave them from thence with his great ordinance.

Upon the 29 of July in the morning, the Spanish Fleet after the foresayd tumult, having arranged themselves againe into order, were, within sight of Greveling, most bravely and furiously encountered by the English; where they once againe got the winde of the Spaniards: who suffered themselves to be deprived of the commodity of the place in Caleis rode, and of the advantage of the winde neere unto Dunkerk, rather then they would change their array or separate their forces now conjoyned and united together, standing onely upon their defence.

And albeit there were many excellent and warlike ships in the English fleet, yet scarce were there 22 or 23 among them all which matched 90 of the Spanish ships in bignesse, or could conveniently assault them. Wherefore the English shippes using their prerogative of nimble stirrage, whereby they could turne and wield themselves with the winde which way they listed, came often times very neere upon the Spaniards, and charged them so sore, that now and then they were but a pikes length asunder: & so continually giving them one broad side after another, they discharged all their shot both great and small upon them, spending one whole day from morning till night in that violent kinde of conflict, untill such time as powder and bullets failed them. In regard of which want they thought it convenient not to pursue the Spaniards any longer, because they had many great vantages of the English, namely for the extraordinary bignesse of their ships, and also for that they were so neerely conjoyned, and kept together in so good array, that they could by no meanes be fought withall one to one. The English thought therefore, that they had right well acquitted themselves, in chasing the Spaniards first from Caleis, and then from

Dunkerck, and by that meanes to have hindered them from joyning with the Duke of Parma his forces, and getting the winde of them, to have driven them from their owne coasts.

The Spaniards that day sustained great losse and damage having many of their shippes shot thorow and thorow, and they discharged likewise great store of ordinance against the English; who indeed sustained some hinderance, but not comparable to the Spaniards losse: for they lost not any one shippe or person of account. For very diligent inquisition being made, the English men all that time wherein the Spanish Navy sayled upon their seas, are not found to have wanted above one hundreth of their people: albeit Sir Francis Drakes shippe was pierced with shot above forty times, and his very cabben was twice shot thorow, and about the conclusion of the fight, the bedde of a certaine gentleman lying weary thereupon, was taken quite from under him with the force of a bullet. Likewise, as the Earle of Northumberland and Sir Charles Blunt were at dinner upon a time, the bullet of a demi-culvering brake thorow the middest of their cabbin, touched their feet, and strooke downe two of the standers by, with many such accidents befalling the English shippes, which it were tedious to rehearse. Whereupon it is most apparant, that God miraculously preserved the English nation. For the L. Admirall wrote unto her Majestie that in all humane reason, and according to the judgement of all men (every circumstance being duly considered) the English men were not of any such force, whereby they might, without a miracle, dare once to approch within sight of the Spanish Fleet: insomuch that they freely ascribed all the honour of their victory unto God, who had confounded the enemy, and had brought his counsels to none effect.

The same day the Spanish ships were so battered with English shot, that that very night and the day following, two or three of them suncke right downe: and among the rest a certaine great ship of Biscay, which Captaine Crosse assaulted, which perished even in the time of the conflict, so that very few therin escaped drowning; who reported that the governours of the same shippe slew one another upon the occasion following: one of them which would have yeelded the shippe was suddenly slaine; the brother of the slaine party in revenge of his death

slew the murtherer, and in the meane while the ship suncke.

The same night two Portugall galeons of the burthen of seven or eight hundreth tunnes a piece, to wit the Saint Philip and the Saint Matthew, were forsaken of the Spanish Fleet, for they were so torne with shotte, that the water entered into them on all sides. In the galeon of Saint Philip was Francis de Toledo, brother unto the Count de Orgas, being Colonell over two and thirty bands: besides other gentlemen; who seeing their mast broken with shotte, they shaped their course, as well as they could, for the coast of Flanders: whither when they could not attaine, the principall men in the ship committing themselves to their skiffe, arrived at the next towne, which was Ostend; and the ship it selfe being left behinde with the residue of their company, was taken by the Ulishingers.

In the other galeon, called the S. Matthew, was embarked Don Diego Pimentelli another camp-master and colonell of 32 bands, being brother unto the marques of Tamnares, with many other gentlemen and captaines. Their ship was not very great, but exceeding strong, for of a great number of bullets which had batterd her, there were scarce 20 wherewith she was pierced or hurt: her upper worke was of force sufficient to beare off a musket shot: this shippe was shot thorow and pierced in the fight before Greveling; insomuch that the leakage of the water could not be stopped: whereupon the duke of Medina sent his great skiffe unto the governour thereof, that he might save himselfe and the principal persons that were in his ship: which he, upon a hault courage, refused to do: wherefore the Duke charged him to saile next unto himselfe: which the night following he could not performe, by reason of the great abundance of water which entered his ship on all sides: for the avoiding wherof, and to save his ship from sincking, he caused 50 men continually to labor at the pompe, though it were to small purpose. And seeing himselfe thus forsaken & separated from his admirall, he endeavored what he could to attaine unto the coast of Flanders: where, being espied by 4 or 5 men of warre, which had their station assigned them upon the same coast, he was admonished to yeeld himselfe unto them. Which he refusing to do, was strongly assaulted by them altogether, and his ship being

pierced with many bullets, was brought into farre worse case then before, and 40 of his souldiers were slaine. By which extremity he was enforced at length to yeeld himselfe unto Peter Banderduess & other captaines, which brought him and his ship into Zeland; and that other ship also last before mentioned: which both of them, immediatly after the greater and better part of their goods were unladen, suncke right downe.

For the memory of this exploit, the foresayd capitaine Banderduess caused the banner of one of these shippes to be set up in the great Church of Leiden in Holland, which is of so great a length, that being fastened to the very roofe, it reached downe to the ground.

About the same time another small ship being by necessity driven upon the coast of Flanders, about Blankenberg, was cast away upon the sands, the people therein being saved. Thus almighty God would have the Spaniards huge ships to be presented, not onely to the view of the English, but also of the Zelanders; that at the sight of them they might acknowledge of what small ability they had beene to resist such impregnable forces, had not God endued them with courage, providence, and fortitude, yea, and fought for them in many places with his owne arme.

The 29 of July the Spanish fleet being encountered by the English (as is aforesayd) and lying close together under their fighting sailes, with a Southwest winde sailed past Dunkerk, the English ships stil following the chase. Of whom the day following when the Spaniards had got sea roome, they cut their maine sailes; whereby they sufficiently declared that they meant no longer to fight but to flie. For which cause the L. Admirall of England dispatched the L. Henrie Seymer with his squadron of small ships unto the coast of Flanders, where, with the helpe of the Dutch ships, he might stop the prince of Parma his passage, if perhaps he should attempt to issue forth with his army. And he himselfe in the meane space pursued the Spanish fleet untill the second of August, because he thought they had set saile for Scotland. And albeit he followed them very neere, yet did he not assault them any more, for want of powder and bullets. But upon the fourth of August, the winde arising, when as the Spaniards had spread all their sailes, betaking themselves wholly to flight, and leaving Scotland on the left

hand, trended toward Norway, (whereby they sufficiently declared that their whole intent was to save themselves by flight, attempting for that purpose, with their battered and crazed ships, the most dangerous navigation of the Northren seas) the English seeing that they were now proceeded unto the latitude of 57 degrees, and being unwilling to participate that danger whereinto the Spaniards plunged themselves, and because they wanted things necessary, and especially powder & shot, returned backe for England; leaving behinde them certaine pinasses onely, which they enjoyned to follow the Spaniards aloofe, and to observe their course. And so it came to passe that the fourth of August, with great danger and industry, the English arrived at Harwich: for they had bene tossed up and downe with a mighty tempest for the space of two or three dayes together, which it is likely did great hurt unto the Spanish fleet, being (as I sayd before) so maimed and battered. The English now going on shore, provided themselves foorthwith of victuals, gunne-powder, and other things expedient, that they might be ready at all assayes to entertaine the Spanish fleet, if it chanced any more to returne. But being afterward more certainly informed of the Spaniards course, they thought it best to leave them unto those boisterous and uncouth Northren seas, and not there to hunt after them.

The Spaniards seeing now that they wanted foure or five thousand of their people and having divers maimed and sicke persons, and likewise having lost 10 or 12 of their principall ships, they consulted among themselves, what they were best to doe, being now escaped out of the hands of the English, because their victuals failed them in like sort, and they began also to want cables, cordage, ankers, masts, sailes, and other naval furniture, and utterly despaired of the Duke of Parma his assistance (who verily hoping and undoubtedly expecting the returne of the Spanish Fleet, was continually occupied about his great preparation, commanding abundance of ankers to be made, & other necessary furniture for a Navy to be provided) they thought it good at length, so soone as the winde should serve them, to fetch a compasse about Scotland and Ireland, and so to returne for Spaine.

For they well understood, that commandement was given thorowout all Scotland, that they should not have any succour or assistance there. Neither yet could they

in Norway supply their wants. Wherefore, having taken certaine Scottish and other fisherboats, they brought the men on boord their owne ships, to the end they might be their guides and Pilots. Fearing also least their fresh water should faile them, they cast all their horses and mules overboord: and so touching no where upon the coast of Scotland, but being carried with a fresh gale betweene the Orcades and Faar-Isles, they proceeded farre North, even unto 61 degrees of latitude, being distant from any land at the least 40 leagues. Heere the Duke of Medina generall of the Fleet commanded all his followers to shape their course for Biscay: and he himselfe with twenty or five and twenty of his ships which were best provided of fresh water and other necessities, holding on his course over the maine Ocean, returned safely home. The residue of his ships being about forty in number, and committed unto his Vice-admirall, fell neerer with the coast of Ireland, intending their course for Cape Clare, because they hoped there to get fresh water, and to refresh themselves on land. But after they were driven with many contrary windes, at length, upon the second of September, they were cast by a tempest arising from the Southwest upon divers parts of Ireland, where many of their ships perished. And amongst others, the shippe of Michael de Oquendo, which was one of the great Galliassees: and two great ships of Venice also, namely, la Ratta and Belanzara, with other 36 or 38 ships more, which perished in sundry tempests, together with most of the persons contained in them.

Likewise some of the Spanish ships were the second time carried with a strong West winde into the chanell of England, whereof some were taken by the English upon their coast, and others by the men of Rochel upon the coast of France.

Moreover, there arrived at Newhaven in Normandy, being by tempest inforced so to doe, one of the foure great Galliassees, where they found the ships with the Spanish women which followed the Fleet at their setting forth. Two ships also were cast away upon the coast of Norway, one of them being of a great burthen; howbeit all the persons in the sayd great ship were saved: insomuch that of 134 ships, which set saile out of Portugall, there returned home 53 onely small and great: namely of the foure galliassees but one, and but one of

the foure gallies. Of the 91 great galleons and hulks there were missing 58, and 33 returned: of the pataches and zabraes 17 were missing, and 18 returned home. In briefe, there were missing 81 ships, in which number were galliasses, gallies, galeons, and other vessels both great and small. And amongst the 53 ships remaining, those also are reckoned which returned home before they came into the English chanell. Two galeons of those which were returned, were by misfortune burnt as they rode in the haven; and such like mishaps did many others undergo. Of 30000 persons which went in this expedition, there perished (according to the number and proportion of the ships) the greater and better part; and many of them which came home, by reason of the toiles and inconveniences which they sustained in this voyage, died not long after their arrivall. The Duke of Medina immediatly upon his returne was deposed from his authority, commanded to his private house, and forbidden to repaire unto the Court; where he could hardly satisfie or yeeld a reason unto his malicious enemies and backbiters. Many honourable personages and men of great renowme deceased soone after their returne; as namely John Martines de Ricalde, with divers others. A great part also of the Spanish Nobility and Gentry employed in this expedition perished either by fight, diseases, or drowning, before their arrival; & among the rest Thomas Perenot of Granduell a Dutchman, being earle of Cantebroi, and sonne unto Cardinall Granduell his brother.

Upon the coast of Zeland Don Diego de Pimentell, brother unto the Marques de Tamnares, and kinseman unto the earle of Beneventum & Calva, and Colonell over 32 bands with many other in the same ship was taken and detained as prisoner in Zeland.

Into England (as we sayd before) Don Pedro de Valdez, a man of singular experience, and greatly honoured in his countrey, was led captive, being accompanied with Don Vasquez de Silva, Don Alonzo de Sayas, and others.

Likewise upon the Scottish Westernne Isles of Lewis, and Ila, and about Cape Cantyre upon the maine land, there were cast away certaine Spanish shippes, out of which were saved divers Captaines and Gentlemen, and almost foure hundred souldiers, who for the most part, after their shipwracke, were brought unto Edenborough in Scotland, and being miserably needy and naked, were

there clothed at the liberality of the King and the Merchants, and afterward were secretly shipped for Spaine; but the Scottish fleet wherein they passed touching at Yarmouth on the coast of Norfolke, were there stayed for a time untill the Counsels pleasure was knowen; who in regard of their manifold miseries, though they were enemies, wincked at their passage.

Upon the Irish coast many of their Noblemen and Gentlemen were drowned; and divers slaine by the barbarous and wilde Irish. Howbeit there was brought prisoner out of Ireland, Don Alonzo de Luçon, Colonell of two and thirtie bandes, commonly called a terza of Naples; together with Rodorigo de Lasso, and two others of the family of Cordova, who were committed unto the custodie of Sir Horatio Palavicini, that Monsieur de Teligny the sonne of Monsieur de la Nouë (who being taken in fight neere Antwerpe, was detained prisoner in the Castle of Turney) might be raunsomed for them by way of exchange. To conclude, there was no famous nor woorthy family in all Spaine, which in this expedition lost not a sonne, a brother, or a kinsman.

For the perpetuall memorie of this matter, the Zelanders caused newe coine of Silver and brasse to be stamped: which on the one side contained the armes of Zeland, with this inscription: GLORY TO GOD ONELY: and on the other side, the pictures of certeine great ships, with these words: THE SPANISH FLEET: and in the circumference about the ships: IT CAME, WENT, AND WAS. Anno 1588. That is to say, the Spanish fleet came, went, and was vanquished this yere; for which, glory be given to God onely.

Likewise they coined another kinde of money; upon the one side whereof was represented a ship fleeing, and a ship sincking: on the other side foure men making prayers and giving thanks unto God upon their knees; with this sentence: Man purposeth; God disposeth. 1588. Also, for the lasting memory of the same matter, they have stamped in Holland divers such like coines, according to the custome of the ancient Romans.

While this woonderfull and puissant Navie was sayling along the English coastes, and all men did now plainly see and heare that which before they would not be perswaded of, all people thorowout England prostrated themselves with humble prayers and supplications unto

God: but especially the outlandish Churches (who had greatest cause to feare, and against whom by name, the Spaniards had threatened most grievous torments) enjoined to their people continuall fastings and supplications, that they might turne away Gods wrath and fury now imminent upon them for their sinnes: knowing right well, that prayer was the onely refuge against all enemies, calamities, and necessities, and that it was the onely solace and reliefe for mankinde, being visited with affliction and misery. Likewise such solemne dayes of supplication were observed thorowout the united Provinces.

Also a while after the Spanish Fleet was departed, there was in England, by the commandement of her Majestie, and in the united Provinces, by the direction of the States, a solemne festivall day publikely appointed, wherein all persons were enjoined to resort unto the Church, and there to render thanks and praises unto God: and the Preachers were commanded to exhort the people thereunto. The foresayd solemnity was observed upon the 29 of November; which day was wholly spent in fasting, prayer, and giving of thanks.

Likewise, the Queenes Majestie herselfe, imitating the ancient Romans, rode into London in triumph, in regard of her owne and her subjects glorious deliverance. For being attended upon very solemnely by all the principall estates and officers of her Realme, she was carried thorow her sayd City of London in a tryumphant chariot, and in robes of triumph, from her Palace unto the Cathedrall Church of Saint Paul, out of the which the ensignes and colours of the vanquished Spaniards hung displayed. And all the Citizens of London in their Liveries stood on either side the street, by their severall Companies, with their ensignes and banners: and the streets were hanged on both sides with Blew cloth, which, together with the foresayd banners, yeelded a very stately and gallant prospect. Her Majestie being entered into the Church, together with her Clergie and Nobles gave thanks unto God, and caused a publike Sermon to be preached before her at Pauls crosse; wherein none other argument was handled, but that praise, honour, and glory might be rendered unto God, and that Gods name might be extolled by thanksgiving. And with her owne princely voice she most Christianly exhorted the people to doe the same:

whereupon the people with a loud acclamation wished her a most long and happy life, to the confusion of her foes.

Thus the magnificent, huge, and mighty fleet of the Spaniards (which themselves termed in all places invincible) such as sayled not upon the Ocean sea many hundreth yeeres before, in the yeere 1588 vanished into smoake; to the great confusion and discouragement of the authours thereof. In regard of which her Majesties happy successe all her neighbours and friends congratulated with her, and many verses were penned to the honour of her Majesty by learned men, whereof some which came to our hands we will here annexe.

AD SERENISSIMAM ELIZABETHAM
ANGLIÆ REGINAM.

THEODOR. BEZA.

THE Spanish Fleet did flote in narrow Seas,
 And bend her ships against the English shore,
 With so great rage as nothing could appease,
 And with such strength as never seene before :
 And all to joyne the kingdome of that land
 Unto the kingdomes that he had in hand.
 Now if you aske what set this king on fire,
 To practise warre when he of peace did treat,
 It was his Pride, and never quencht desire,
 To spoile that Islands wealth, by peace made great :
 His Pride which farre above the heavens did swell,
 And his desire as unsuffic'd as hell.
 But well have windes his proud blasts overblown,
 And swelling waves alayd his swelling heart,
 Well hath the Sea with greedie gulfs unknown,
 Devoured the devourer to his smart :
 And made his ships a pray unto the sand,
 That meant to pray upon anothers land.
 And now, O Queene, above all others blest,
 For whom both windes and waves are prest to fight,
 So rule your owne, so succour friends opprest,
 (As farre from pride, as ready to do right)
 That England you, you England long enjoy,
 No lesse your friends delight, then foes annoy.

Certaine Englishmen sent to Constantinople by the French King to Justinian the Emperour, about the yeere of Christ, 500. out of the fourth booke of Procopius de Bello Gothico.

THE Isle of Britaine is inhabited by three most populous nations, every of which is governed by a severall king. The sayd nations are named Angili, Frisones, and Britones, which last are called after the name of the Island. In this Isle there are such swarmes of people, that every yeere they goe foorth in great numbers with their wives and children into France. And the Frenchmen right willingly receive them into their lande, which seemeth very desolate for want of inhabitants. Whereupon it is sayd that the French doe challenge the foresayd Island unto themselves. For not long since, when the king of the Frankes sent certaine of his subjects ambassadours to Constantinople unto Justinian the Emperour, he sent English men also, ambitiously boasting, as though the sayd Isle had bene under his jurisdiction.

A testimonie of the sending of Sighelmus Bishop of Shirburne, by King Alphred, unto Saint Thomas of India in the yeare of our Lord 883, recorded by William of Malmesburie, in his second booke and fourth Chapter de gestis regum Anglorum.

KING Alphred being addicted to giving of almes, confirmed the privileges of Churches as his father had determined; and sent also many giftes beyond the seas unto Rome, and unto S. Thomas of India. His messenger in this businesse was Sighelmus bishop of Schirburne; who with great prosperitie (which is a matter to be wondered at in this our age) travailed thorough India, and returning home brought with him many strange and precious unions and costly spyces, such as that countrey plentifully yeeldeth.

A second testimony of the foresaid Sighelmus his voyage unto Saint Thomas of India &c. out of William of Malmesbury his second booke de gestis pontificum Anglorum, cap. de episcopis Schireburnensibus, Salisburiensibus, Wiltunensibus.

SIGHELMUS being for the performance of the kings almes sent beyond the seas, and travailing unto S. Thomas of

India, very prosperously (which a man would woonder at in this age) passed through the sayde countrey of India, and returning home brought with him divers strange and precious stones, such as that climate affourdeth. Many of which stones are as yet extant in the monuments of the Church.

The life and travailes of John Erigena.

JOHN ERIGENE a Britane, descended of honourable parents, and borne in the Towne of S. David in Wales, seing the Englishmen to be oppressed with the warres and rapines of the cruell Danes, and all the land in a hurlie burlie, he in the meane time undertooke a long journey, even as farre as Athens, and there spent many yeres in the studie of the Greeke, Chaldie, and Arabian tongues: he there frequented all the places and schooles of the Philosophers, and the oracle also of the Sunne, which Aesculapius had built unto himselfe. And having found at length that which he had with long travell searched, he returned againe into Italie, and France, where for his singular learning, he was much favoured of the two Kings Charles and Lewes, and in his being there, he translated into Latine the bookes of Dionysius Arcopagita concerning the Heavenly Hierarchie, which were sent from Constantinople in the yeere 858. After this hee came backe againe into his owne Countrey, and was schoolemaster unto Alphred then King of England, and his sonnes: and upon his request, at his times of leasure, he translated Aristotles Morals, of the Secrets of Secrets, or of the right government of Princes, out of Greeke into these three tongues, Chaldie, Arabian, and Latine, which he did very exquisitely. At the last, being in the Abbie of Malmsburie, whither he went for his recreation, and there according to his manner disputing, and reading to the Students, some of them misliking and hating him, rose against him, and slue him in the yeere of Christ, 884.

The travailes of Andrew Whiteman aliás Leucander, Centur. 2.

ANDREW LEUCANDER otherwise called Whiteman (as Leland reporteth) was by profession a Monke, and the third Abbat of the Abbey of Ramsie: he was exceedingly given to the studie of good artes, taking paines therein day & night, and profited greatly thereby. And amongst

all other things, he had an incredible desire to see those places with his eyes, wherein Christ our Saviour performed and wrought all the mysteries of our redemption, the names of which places he onely knew before by the reading of the Scriptures. Whereupon he began his journey, and went to Jerusalem a witnesse of the miracles, preaching, and passion of Christ, and being againe returned into his countrey, he was made the aforesayd Abbat. He flourished in the yere of Christ, 1020. under Canutus the Dane.

The voyage of Swanus one of the sonnes of Earle Godwin unto Jerusalem, Anno Dom. 1052, recorded by William of Malmsburie lib. 2. de gestis regum Anglorum, Capite 13.

SWANUS being of a perverse disposition, and faithlesse to the king, often times disagreed with his father and his brother Harold: and afterwards prooving a pirate, he stained the vertues of his ancestours with his robberies upon the seas. Last of all, being guilty unto himselfe of the murther of his kinseman Bruno, and (as some do report) of his owne brother, he travailed unto Jerusalem: and in his returne home, being taken by the Saracens, was beaten, and wounded unto death.

A voyage of three Ambassadors, who in the time of K. Edward the Confessor, and about the yere of our Lord 1056, were sent unto Constantinople, and from thence unto Ephesus, together with the occasion of their sending, &c. recorded by William of Malmesburie, lib. 2. de gestis regum Anglorum, capite 13.

UPON Easter day king Edward the Confessour being crowned with his kingly diademe, and accompanied with divers of his nobles, sate at dinner in his pallace at Westminster. And when others, after their long abstinence in the Lent, refreshed themselves with dainty meats, and fed thereupon very earnestly, he lifting up his mind from earthly matters and meditating on heavenly visions (to the great admiration of those which were present) brake forth into an exceeding laughter: and no man presuming to enquire the cause of his mirth, they all kept silence til dinner was ended. But after dinner as hee was in his bed-chamber putting off his solemne roabes, three of his Nobles, to wit earle Harold, an Abbot, and a Bishop,

being more familiar with him then the residue followed him in, and bouldly asked him what was the occasion of his laughter: for it seemed very strange unto them all, what should move him at so solemne a time and assembly, while others kept silence, to laugh so excessively. I saw (quoth he) admirable things, and therefore laughed I not without occasion. Then they (as it is the common guise of all men) demaunded and enquired the cause more earnestly, humbly beseeching him that hee would vouchsafe to impart that secret unto them. Whereupon musing a long while unto himselfe, at length he told them wonderfull things: namely that seven Sleepers had rested in mount Cælius two hundred yeeres, lying upon their right sides; but in the very houre of his laughter, that they turned themselves on their left sides; and that they should continue so lying for the space of 74. yeeres after; being a dismal signe of future calamitie unto mankinde. For all things should come to passe within those 74. yeeres, which, as our Saviour Christ foretold unto his disciples, were to be fulfilled about the ende of the world; namely that nation should rise against nation, and kingdome against kingdome, and that there should bee in many places earthquakes, pestilence, and famine, terrible apparitions in the heavens, and great signes, together with alterations of kingdomes, warres of infidels against the Christians, and victories of the Christians against the infidels. And as they wondered at these relations, he declared unto them the passion of the seven Sleepers, with the proportion and shape of eache of their bodies (which things no man living had as then committed unto writing) and that so plainly and distinctly, as if he had conversed a long time in their company. Hereupon the earle sent a knight, the bishop a clearke, and the abbot a monke unto Maniches the Emperour of Constantinople, with the letters and gifts of their King. Who giving them friendly entertainment, sent them over unto the bishop of Ephesus; and wrote his letters unto him giving him charge, that the English Ambassadors might be admitted to see the true, and material habiliments of the seven Sleepers. And it came to passe that King Edwards vision was approved by all the Greekes, who protested they were advertised by their fathers, that the foresaid seven Sleepers had alwayes before that time rested upon their right sides; but after the Englishmen were entered into

the cave, those Sleepers confirmed the trueth of the outlandish prophesie, unto their countreyemen. Neither were the calamities foretold, any long time delayed: for the Agarens, Arabians, Turkes and other unbeleeving nations invading the Christians, harried and spoiled Syria, Lycia, the lesser Asia, and many cities of Asia the greater, and amongst the rest Ephesus, yea, and Jerusalem also.

The voyage of Alured bishop of Worcester unto Jerusalem, an. 1058. Recorded by Roger Hoveden in parte priore Annalium, fol. 255. linea 15.

IN the yere of our Lord 1058. Alured bishop of Worcester, very solemnely dedicated a Church (which himselfe had founded and built in the citie of Glocester) unto the honour of S. Peter the chiefe Apostle: and afterward by the kings permission ordained Wolstan a Monke of Worcester of his owne choice, to be Abbate in the same place. And then having left his Bishopricke which was committed unto him over the Church of Wilton, and having resigned the same unto Hermannus above mentioned, passed over the seas, and travailed through Hungarie unto Jerusalem, &c.

The voyage of Ingulphus Abbat of Croiland unto Jerusalem, performed (according to Florentius Wigorniensis) in the yeere of our Lord, 1064, and described by the said Ingulphus himselfe about the conclusion of his brieffe Historie.

I INGULPHUS an humble servant of reverend Guthlac and of his monastery of Croiland, borne in England, and of English parents, at the beautifull citie of London, was in my youth, for the attaining of good letters, placed first at Westminster, and afterward sent to the Universitie of Oxford. And having excelled divers of mine equals in learning of Aristotle, I inured my selfe somewhat unto the first & second Rhethorique of Tullie. And as I grew in age, disdayning my parents meane estate, and forsaking mine owne native soyle, I affected the Courts of kings and princes, and was desirous to be clad in silke, and to weare brave and costly attire. And loe, at the same time William our sovereigne king now, but then Erle of Normandie, with a great troupe of followers and attendants came unto London, to conferre with king Edward the Confessour his kinsman. Into whose com-

pany intruding my selfe, and proffering my service for the performance of any speedy or weightie affayres, in short time, after I had done many things with good successe, I was knowen and most entirely beloved by the victorious Erle himselfe, and with him I sayled into Normandie. And there being made his secretarie, I governed the Erles Court (albeit with the envie of some) as my selfe pleased, yea whom I would I abased, and preferred whom I thought good. When as therefore, being carried with a youthfull heat and lustie humour, I began to be wearie even of this place, wherein I was advanced so high above my parentage, and with an inconstant minde, and affection too too ambitious, most vehemently aspired at all occasions to climbe higher: there went a report throughout all Normandie, that divers Archbishops of the Empire, and secular princes were desirous for their soules health, and for devotion sake, to goe on pilgrimage to Jerusalem. Wherefore out of the family of our lorde the Earle, sundry of us, both gentlemen and clerkes (principall of whom was my selfe) with the licence and good will of our sayd lord the earle, sped us on that voiage, and travailing thirtie horses of us into high Germanie, we joyned our selves unto the Archbishop of Mentz. And being with the companies of the Bishops seven thousand persons sufficiently provided for such an expedition, we passed prosperously through many provinces, and at length attained unto Constantinople. Where doing reverence unto the Emperour Alexius, we sawe the Church of Sancta Sophia, and kissed divers sacred reliques. Departing thence through Lycia, we fell into the hands of the Arabian theeves: and after we had bene robbed of infinite summes of money, and had lost many of our people, hardly escaping with extreame danger of our lives, at length wee joyfully entered into the most wished citie of Jerusalem. Where we were received by the most reverend, aged, and holy patriarche Sophronius, with great melodie of cymbals and with torch-light, and were accompanied unto the most divine Church of our Saviour his sepulchre with a solemne procession aswell of Syrians as of Latines. Here, how many prayers we uttered, what abundance of teares we shed, what deepe sighs we breathed foorth, our Lord Jesus Christ onely knoweth. Wherefore being conducted from the most glorious sepulchre of Christ to visite other

sacred monuments of the citie, we saw with weeping eyes a great number of holy Churches and oratories, which Achim the Souldan of Egypt had lately destroyed. And so having bewailed with sadde teares, and most sorrowful and bleeding affections, all the ruines of that most holy city both within and without, and having bestowed money for the reedifying of some, we desired with most ardent devotion to go forth into the countrey, to wash our selves in the most sacred river of Jordan, and to kisse all the steppes of Christ. Howbeit the theevish Arabians lurking upon every way, would not suffer us to travell farre from the city, by reason of their huge and furious multitudes. Wherefore about the spring there arrived at the port of Joppa a fleet of ships from Genoa. In which fleet (when the Christian merchants had exchanged all their wares at the coast townes, and had likewise visited the holy places) wee all of us embarked, committing our selves to the seas: and being tossed with many stormes and tempests, at length wee arrived at Brundusium: and so with a prosperous journey travelling thorow Apulia towards Rome, we there visited the habitations of the holy apostles Peter and Paul, and did reverence unto divers monuments of holy martyrs in all places thorowout the city. From thence the archbishops and other princes of the empire travelling towards the right hand for Alemain, and we declining towards the left hand for France, departed asunder, taking our leaves with unspeakable thankes and courtesies. And so at length, of thirty horsemen which went out of Normandie fat, lusty, and frolique, we returned thither skarse twenty poore pilgrims of us, being all footmen, and consumed with leannesse to the bare bones.

Divers of the honourable family of the Beauchamps, with Robert Curtoys sonne of William the Conqueror, made a voyage to Jerusalem 1096. Hol. pag. 22. vol. 2.

POPE URBANE calling a councell at Clermont in Auvergne, exhorted the Christian princes so earnestly to make a journey into the Holy land, for the recovery thereof out of the Saracens hands, that the saide great and generall journey was concluded upon to be taken in hand, wherein many noble men of Christendome went under the leading of Godfrey of Bouillon & others, as in the Chronicles of France, of Germanie, and of the Holy land doeth more

plainely appeare. There went also among other divers noble men foorth of this Realme of England, specially that worthily bare the surname of Beauchampe.

The voyage of Gutwere an English Lady married to Baldwine brother of Godfreide duke of Bouillon, toward Jerusalem about 1097. And the 11. yeere of William Rufus King of England.

THE Christian armie of Godfrie of Bouillon passing the citie of Iconium, alias Agogna in the countrey of Licaonia, and from thence by the city of Heraclia, came at length unto the citie of Marasia, where they encamped, and sojourned there three whole dayes, because of the wife of Baldwine brother germane of the duke of Lorraine. Which Lady being long time vexed with a grievous malady, was in extremitie, where at length paying the debt due to nature, she changed this transitorie life, for life eternall; Who, in her life time, was a very worthy and vertuous Lady, borne in England, and descended of most noble parentage named Gutwere; Which, according to her degree, was there most honourably enterred, to the great griefe of all the whole armie. As reporteth William Archbishop of Tyre, lib. 3. cap. 17. hist. belli sacri. The same author in the 10. booke & first chapter of the same historie concerning the same English Lady, writeth further as followeth, Baldwine having folowed the warres for a time, gave his minde to marriage, so that being in England he fell in love with a very honourable and noble Lady named Gutwere, whom he married and caried with him in that first happy expedition, wherein he accompanied his brethren the Lords, duke Godfrey and Eustace, persons very commendable in all vertues and of immortall memorie. But he had hard fortune in his journey, because his foresaid wife, being wearied with a long sicknes finished her life with a happie end neere the citie of Marasia, before the Christian armie came unto Antioch, where she was honourably buried, as we have declared before.

Chronicon Hierosolymitanum in lib. 3. cap. 27. maketh also mention of this English Lady, which he calleth Godwera in this maner.

In this province of Maresch the most noble wife of Baldwine, which he caried with him out of England

being visited with dayly sicknesses and infirmities of body, and commended to the custody of duke Godfrey, departed out of this life, and was buried after the Christian maner. Her name was Godwera.

The voyage of Edgar the sonne of Edward which was the sonne of Edmund surnamed Ironside, brother unto K. Edward the confessor, (being accompanied with valiant Robert the sonne of Godwin) unto Jerusalem, in the yeere of our Lord 1102. Recorded by William of Malmesburie, lib. 3. histo. fol. 58.

AFTERWARD Edgar being sonne unto the nephewe of Edward the confessor, traueiled with Robert the sonne of Godwin a most valiant knight, unto Jerusalem. And it was at the same time when the Turkes besieged king Baldwin at Rama: who not being able to endure the straight siege, was by the helpe of Robert especially, going before him, and with his drawn sword making a lane, and slaying the Turkes on his right hande and on his left, delivered out of that danger, and escaped through the midst of his enemies campe. But upon his happie successe being more eager and fierce, as hee went forward somewhat too hastily, his sworde fell out of his hand. Which as he stouped to take up, being oppressed with the whole multitude, hee was there taken and bound. From whence (as some say) being carried unto Babylon or Alcair in Egypt, when he would not renounce Christ, he was tyed unto a stake in the midst of the market place, and being shot through with arrowes, died a martyr. Edgar having lost his knight returned, and being honoured with many rewards both by the Greekish and by the Germaine Emperour (who both of them would right gladly have entertained him stil for his great nobilitie) contemned all things in respect of his native soile. For in very deede some are so inuegled with the love of their countrey, that nothing can seeme pleasant unto them, unlesse they breath in the same aire where they were bred. Wherefore Edgar being misledde with a fond affection, returned into England; and afterward being subject unto divers changes of fortune (as we have above signified) he spendeth now his extreeme olde age in an obscure and private place of the countrey.

Mention made of one Godericus, a valiant Englishman, who was with his ships in the voyage unto the Holy land in the second yeere of Baldwine King of Jerusalem, in the third yere of Henry the first of England.

BUT seven dayes afterward, the King comming out of the towne of Assur entred into a shippe called a Busse, and one Godericke a pirate of the kingdome of England with him, and fastening his banner on the toppe of a speare, and holding it up aloft in the aire against the beames of the Sunne, sailed unto Japhet with a small company; That the Christian Citizens there seeing this his banner, might conceive hope that the King was yet living, and being not easily terrified with the threatens of the enemies might shamefully runne away, or be constrained to yeeld up the citie. For hee knew that they were very much out of hope of his life and safetie. The Saracens seeing and knowing this his banner, that part of them which environed the Citie by water made towards him with twentie Gallies and thirteene shippes, which they commonly cal Cazh, seeking to inclose the Kings shippe. But, by Gods helpe the billowes of the Sea swelling and raging against them, and the Kings shippe gliding and passing through the waves with an easie and nimble course arrived suddenly in the haven of Joppa, the enemies frustrated of their purpose; and sixe of the Saracens were hurt and wounded by shot out of the Kings shippe. So that the King entering into the Citie, and nowe appearing in safetie in all their sightes, the spirits of all them that mourned for him, and until then lamented as though hee had bene dead, revived, because that the head and King of the Christians, and prince of Jerusalem was yet alive, and come againe unto them in perfect health.

Mention made of one Hardine of England one of the chiefeest personages, and a leader among other of two hundred saile of ships of Christians that landed at Joppa in the yeere of our Lord God 1102.

WHILE the Sarazens continued their siege against Joppa, two hundred saile of Christian ships arrived at Joppa, that they might performe their devotions at Hierusalem. The chiefe men and leaders of these Christians are reported to have bene: Bernard Witrazh of the land of

Galatia, Hardine of England, Otho of Roges, Haderwerck one of the chiefe noble men of Westphalia, &c. This Christian power through Gods speciall provision, arrived here for the succour and reliefe of the distressed & besieged Christians in Joppa, the third day of July, 1102. and in the second yeere of Baldwine king of Jerusalem. Whereupon the multitude of the Sarazens, seeing that the Christian power joyned themselves boldly, close by them even face to face in a lodging hard by them, the very next night at midnight, remooved their tents, and pitched them more then a mile off, that they might the next morning bee advised whether they should returne to Ascalon, or by often assaults vexe the citizens of Japhet.

YET notwithstanding, after the said third day of July, the Sarazens persisted high minded and insolent, by reason of their great multitude, and much annoied the Christian people with their many forceable and terrible weapons; whereupon, on the sixt day of July early in the morning king Baldwine issued out of Japhet, his trumpets and cornets yeelding a great and lowd sound, and with a very strong armie as well of horsemen as footemen, who on every side making great shoutes and outcries, with fierce and sharpe battell set on the maine power of their enemies. The Christians also who arrived in the navie, rearing great clamours and noyses, with loud voices and shoutings in horrible wise together, with king Baldwine assaulted likewise with strong battell the Babylonians, and afflicted them with most sore and deadly wounds, untill the Sarazens being wearied with fighting, nor able longer to endure and hold out against the valure of the Christians, fled towards Ascalon. And other of them hoping to escape from them that pursued them, lept into the sea, and were swallowed up in the waves thereof. And so the citie of Joppa with the inhabitants thereof were freed of their enemies. There were slaine this day three thousand Sarazens, and but a few of the Christians perished.

A Fleete of Englishmen, Danes, and Flemmings, arrived at Joppa in the Holy land, the seventh yeere of Baldwine the second king of Hierusalem. Written in the beginning of the tenth booke of the Chronicle of Hierusalem, in the 8. yeere of Henry the first of England.

Cap. 1.

AT the same time also in the seventh yeere of the raigne of Baldwine the Catholike king of Hierusalem, a very great warrelike Fleete of the Catholike nation of England, to the number of about seven thousand, having with them more men of warre of the kingdom of Denmarke, of Flanders and of Antwerpe, arrived with ships which they call Busses, at the haven of the citie of Japhet, determining there to make their abode, untill they having obtained the kings licence and safeconduct, might safely worship at Hierusalem. Of which navie the chieftest and best spoken repairing to the king, spake to him in this maner. Christ preserve the Kings life, and prosper his kingdome from day to day; Wee, being men and souldiours of Christian profession, have, through the helpe of God, sayled hither through mightie and large seas, from the farre countreys of England, Flanders, and Denmarke, to worship at Jerusalem, and to visit the sepulchre of our Lord. And therefore we are assembled to intreat your clemency touching the matter, that by your favour and safe conduct we may peaceably goe up to Jerusalem, and worship there, and so returne.

Chap. 2.

THE king favourably hearing their whole petition, granted unto them a strong band of men to conduct them, which brought them safely from all assaults and ambushes of the Gentiles by the known wayes unto Jerusalem and all other places of devotion. After that these pilgrims, & new Christian strangers were brought thither, they offering unto our Lord their voves in the temple of the holy sepulchre, returned with great joy, and without all let unto Joppa; where finding the king, they vowed that they would assist him in all things, which should seeme good unto him: who, greatly commending the men, and commanding them to be well entertained with hospitality, answered that he could not on the sudden answer to this point, untill that after he had called his nobles

together, he had consulted with my lord the Patriarch what was most meet and convenient to be done, and not to trouble in vaine so willing an army. And therefore after a few dayes, calling unto him my lord the Patriarch, Hugh of Tabaria, Gunfride the keeper and lieutenant of the tower of David, and the other chiefeest men of warre, he determined to have a meeting in the city of Rames, to consult with them what was best to be done.

Chap. 3.

WHO, being assembled at the day appointed, and proposing their divers opinions & judgements, at length it seemed best unto the whole company to besiege the city Sagitta, which is also called Sidon, if peradventure, through Gods helpe, and by the strength of this new army, by land and sea it might be overcome. Whereupon all they which were there present, and required that this city should be besieged, because it was one of those cities of the Gentiles which continually rebelled, were commended, and admonished of the king every one to go home, and to furnish themselves with things necessary, and armour for this expedition. Every one of them departed home; likewise Hugh of Tabaria departed, being a chiefe man of warre against the invasions of the enemies, which could never be wearied day nor night in the countie of the Pagans, in pursuing them with warre and warlike stratagemes all the dayes of his life. Immediatly after this consultation the king sent ambassadours to all the multitude of the English men, requiring them not to remove their campe nor fleet from the city of Japhet, but quietly to attend the kings further commandement. The same ambassadours also declared unto the whole army, that the king and all his nobility had determined to besiege and assault the city Sagitta by sea and by land, and that their helpe and forces would there be needfull; and that for this purpose, the king and the patriarch were comming downe unto the city of Acres, and that they were in building of engins, and warlike instruments, to invade the walles and inhabitants thereof: and that in the meane season they were to remaine at Japhet, untill the kings further commandement were knownen. Whereupon they all agreed that it should so be done according to the kings commandement; and answered that they would attend his directions in the

haven of Japhet, & would in all points be obedient unto him unto the death.

Chap. 4.

THE king came downe to Acres with the patriarch, and all his family, building, and making there by the space of fortie dayes engins, and many kindes of warlike instruments: and appointing all things to be made perfectly ready, which seemed to be most convenient for the assaulting of the city. Assoone as this purpose and intent of the king was come unto the eares of the inhabitants of Sagitta, and that an invincible power of men of warre was arrived at Japhet to helpe the king, they were greatly astonied, fearing that by this meanes, they should be consumed and subdued by the king by dint of sword, as other cities, to wit, Cæsaria, Assur, Acres, Cayphas, and Tabaria were vanquished and subdued. And therefore laying their heads together, they promised to the king by secret mediatours, a mighty masse of money of a coyne called Byzantines: and that further they would yeerely pay a great tribute, upon condition that ceasing to besiege and invade their city, he would spare their lives. Whereupon these businesses were handled from day to day betweene the king and the citizens, and they solicited the king for the ransoming both of their city and of their lives, proffering him from time to time more greater gifts. And the king for his part, being carefull and perplexed for the payment of the wages which he ought unto his souldiers, harkened wholly unto this offer of money. Howbeit because he feared the Christians, least they should lay it to his charge as a fault, he durst not as yet meddle with the same.

Chap. 5.

IN the meane space Hugh of Tabaria being sent for, accompanied with the troopes of two hundred horsemen and foure hundred footmen, invaded the countrey of the Grosse Carle called Suet, very rich in gold and silver most abundant in cattle frontering upon the countrie of the Damascenes, where hee tooke a pray of inestimable riches and cattle, which might have suffised him for the besiege of Sagitta, whereof he ment to impart liberally to the king, and his companie. This pray being gathered out of sundry places thereabout, and being led away as

farre as the citie of Belinas, which they call Cæsaria Philippi, the Turkes which dwelt at Damascus, together with the Saracens inhabitants of the countrie perceiving this, flocking on all partes together by troopes, pursued Hughes companie to rescue the pray, and passed foorth as farre as the mountaines, over which Hughes footemen did drive the pray. There beganne a great skirmish of both partes, the one side made resistance to keepe the pray, the other indevoured with all their might to recover it, untill at length the Turkes and Saracens prevailing, the pray was rescued and brought backe againe: which Hugh and his troopes of horsemen, suddenly understanding, which were on the side of the mountaines, incontinently rid backe upon the spurre, among the straight and craggie rockes, skirmishing with the enemies, and succouring their footemen, but as it chanced they fought unfortunately. For Hugh, being unarmed, and immediatly rushing into the midst of all dangers, and after his woonted manner invading and wounding the infidels, being behinde with an arrowe shot through the backe which pierced thorough his liver and brest, he gave up the ghost in the handes of his owne people. Hereupon the troopes of the Gentiles being returned with the recovered pray, and being devided through the secret and hard passages of the craggie hilles, the souldiers brought the dead bodie of Hugh, which they had put in a litter, into the citie of Nazareth, which is by the mount Thaber, where with great mourning and lamentation, so worthie a prince, and valiant champion was honourably and Catholically interred. The brother of the said Hugh named Gerrard, the same time lay sicke of a grievous disease. Which hearing of the death of his brother, his sicknesse of his body increasing more vehemently through grieffe, he also deceased within eight dayes after, and was buried by his brother, after Christian maner.

Chap. 6.

AFTER the lamentable burials of these so famous Princes, the King, taking occasion of the death of these principall men of his armie, agreed, making none privie thereto, to receive the money which was offered him for his differring off the siege of the citie of Sagitta, yet dissembling to make peace with the Saracens, but that he ment to go through with the worke, that he had begunne.

Whereupon sending a message unto Japhet, hee advised the English souldiers to come downe to Acres with their fleete, and to conferre and consult with him touching the besieging and assaulting of the citie of Sagitta, which rising immediatly upon the kings commaundement, and forthwith hoysing up the sayles of their shippes aloft with pendants and stremers of purple, and diverse other glorious colours, with their flagges of scarlet colour and silke, came thither, and casting their ancrs, rode hard by the citie. The king the next day calling unto him such as were privie & acquainted with his dealings, opened his griefe unto the chiefe Captaines of the English men and Danes, touching the slaughter of Hugh, and the death of his brother, and what great confidence he reposed in them concerning these warres: and that nowe therefore they being departed and dead, he must of necessity differre the besieging of Sagitta, & for this time dismisse the armie assembled. This resolution of the king being spred among the people, the armie was dissolved, and the Englishmen, Danes and Flemings, with sailes and oares going aboard their fleete, saluted the king, and returned home unto their native countries.

The travailes of one Athelard an Englishman, recorded
by master Bale Centur. 2.

ATHELARD a Monke of the Abbie of Bathe was so diligent a searcher of the secrets, and causes of naturall things, that he deserveth worthely to be compared with some of the auncient Philosophers. This man although young, yet being of a good wit, and being desirous to increase and enrich the same with the best things, and to prepare himselfe as it were for greater matters, left his Countrey for a time, and travailed into forreine Regions. He went through Egypt, and Arabia, and found out many things which he desired to his owne private contentment, and the profite of good letters generally, and so being satisfied, returned againe into his Countrey: he flourished in the yeere 1130. Henry the first being then king of England.

The life and travailes of one William of Tyre, an
Englishman. Centur. 13.

WILLIAM the Prior of the Canons Regular in the Church of Jerusalem, called the Lords Sepulchre, was an English-

man borne, and of a vertuous and good behaviour. After that the Citie of Tyre was restored againe to the Christian faith, Guimunde the Patriarke of Jerusalem made him the first Archbishop of Tyre, in the yeere 1128. Which Tyre is a very ancient Citie, the Metropolis of all Phœnicia, and hath bene accompted the chieftest Province of Syria, both for fruitful commodities and multitude of inhabitants. This William having in his life written many Bookes and Epistles, died at last in the yeere 1130. having bene Archbishop the space of two yeeres, and was buried in the Church of Tyre.

The travailes of Robertus Ketenensis.

THIS ROBERT KETENENSIS was called an Englishman by surname, as he was by birth: who after some time spent in the foundations of humanitie, and in the elements of good Artes in the Universities of England, determined to travaile to the partes beyond sea: and so travailed through France, Italie, Dalmatia, and Greece, and came at last into Asia, where he lived in great danger of his life among the cruell Saracens, but yet learned perfectly the Arabian tongue. Afterwardes he returned by sea into Spaine, and there about the river Iberus, gave him selfe wholly to the studie of Astrologie, with one Hermannus a Dalmatian, who had accompanied him in his long voyage. He flourished in the yeere 1143. Steven being then King of England, and was buried at Pam-pilona.

A voyage of certaine English men under the conduct of Lewes king of France unto the Holy land.

BOTH the princes provision being made for so great an expedition, they severing their armies, entered on their journey. For the Emperour Conradus went before, certaine dayes journey, with very great power of Italians, Germans, and other countreys. And king Lewes followed after accompanied with a band of horsemen and footmen of French men, Flemmings, Normans, Britons, English men, Burgundions, men of Provence, and Gascoins.

The voyage of John Lacy to Jerusalem.

IN the yere of our Lord 1172 was founded the abbey of Stanlaw by the lord John Lacy Constable of Chester, &

lord of Halton, who deceased in the Holy land the yere following : which was in the twentieth yere of king Henry the second.

The voyage of William Mandevile to Jerusalem.

WILLIAM MANDEVILE earle of Essex, with divers English lords and knights, went to the Holy land in the 24 yere of Henry the second. Holinshed pag. 101.

English men were the guard of the Emperours of Constantinople in the reigne of John the sonne of Alexius Comnenus. Malmesburiensis, Curopolata and Camden, pag. 96.

FROM this time forward the kingdome of England was reputed amongst the most flourishing estates of Christendome, no lesse in chivalrie then humanitie. So farforth that the English men were sent for to be the guarders of the persons of the Emperours of Constantinople. For John the sonne of Alexius Comnenus, as our countreyman William of Malmesburie reporteth, highly esteeming their fidelity, used them very nere about him, recommending them over to his sonne: so that long time afterwards the guard of those Emperours were English halberdiers, called by Nicetas Choniata, Inglini Bipenniferi, and by Curopolata, Barangi, which alwayes accompanied the Emperour with their halberds on their shoulders, which they held up when the Emperour comming from his Oratorie shewed himselfe to the people; and clashing their halberds together to make a terrible sound, they in the English tongue wished unto him long life.

A great supply of money to the Holy land by
Henry the 2.

THE same yeere King Henry the second being at Waltham, assigned an aide to the maintenance of the Christian souldiers in the Holy lande, That is to wit, two and fortie thousand markes of silver, and five hundred markes of golde. Matth. Paris. and Holens. pag. 105.

The woorthy voiage of Richard the first, K. of England into Asia, for the recoverie of Jerusalem out of the hands of the Saracens, drawn out of the booke of Acts and Monuments of the Church of England, written by M. John Foxe.

KING RICHARD the first of that name, for his great valure surnamed Ceur de Lion, the sonne of Henry the second, after the death of his father remembring the rebellions that he had undutifully raised against him, sought for absolution of his trespasse, and in part of satisfaction for the same, agreed with Philip the French king to take his voiage with him for the recoverie of Christes patrimonie, which they called the Holy land, whereupon the sayd king Richard immediately after his Coronation, to prepare himselfe the better towards his journey, used divers meanes to take up summes of money, and exacted a tenth of the whole Realme, the Christians to make threescore and ten thousand pounds, and the Jewes which then dwelt in the Realme threescore thousand.

Having thus gotten sullicient money for the exploite, he sent certaine Earles and Barons to Philip the French king in the time of his Parliament at S. Denis, to put him in mind of his promise made for the recoverie of Christs holy patrimonie out of the Saracens hands: To whom he sent word againe in the moneth of December, that he had bound himselfe by solemne othe, deposing upon the Evangelists, that he the yeere next following, about the time of Easter, had certainly prefixed to addresse himselfe toward that journey, requiring him likewise not to faile, but to bee ready at the terme above limited, appointing also the place where both the Kings should meete together.

In the yeere therfore 1190. King Richard having committed the government of this realme in his absence to the bishop of Ely then Chancellor of England, advanced forward his journey, and came to Turon to meet with Philip the French king, & after that went to Vizeliac, where the French king & he joyning together, for the more continuance of their journey, assured themselves by solemne othe, swearing fidelitie one to the other: the forme of whose oth was this.

That either of them should defend and maintaine the honour of the other, and beare true fidelitie unto

him, of life, members & worldly honor, and that neither of them should faile one the other in their affaires: but the French King should aide the King of England in defending his land and dominions, as he would himselfe defend his owne Citie of Paris if it were besieged: and that Richard king of England likewise should aide the French king in defending his land and Dominions, no otherwise then he would defend his owne Citie of Roan if it were besieged, &c.

Concerning the lawes and ordinances appointed by K. Richard for his Navie, the forme therof was this.

1. That who so killed any person on shipboard, should be tied with him that was slaine, and throwen into the sea.

2. And if he killed him on the land, he should in like maner be tied with the partie slaine, and be buried with him in the earth.

3. He that shalbe convicted by lawfull witnes to draw out his knife or weapon to the intent to strike any man, or that hath striken any to the drawing of blood, shall loose his hand.

4. Also he that striketh any person with his hand without effusion of blood, shall be plunged three times in the sea.

5. Item, who so speaketh any opprobrious or contumelious wordes in reviling or cursing one another, for so oftentimes as he hath reviled, shall pay so many ounces of silver.

6. Item, a thiefe or felon that hath stollen being lawfully convicted, shal have his head shorne, and boyling pitch powred upon his head, and feathers or downe strawed upon the same, whereby he may be knowen, and so at the first landing place they shall come to, there to be cast up.

These things thus ordered, king Richard sending his Navie by the Spanish seas, and by the streights of Gibraltar, betweene Spaine and Africa, to meete him at Marsilia, hee himselfe went as is said to Vizeliac to the French king. Which two kings from thence went to Lions, where the bridge over the flood Rhodanus with preasse of people brake, and many both men and women were drowned: by occasion whereof the two kings for the combrance of their traines, were constrained to dis-sever themselves for time of their journey, appointing

both to meet together in Sicily : and so Philip the French king tooke his way to Genua, and king Richard to Marsilia, where he remained 8. dayes, appointing there his Navie to meete him. From thence crossing over to Genua where the French king was, he passed forward by the coasts of Italy, and entred into Tiber not farre from Rome.

King Richard staying in Marsilia 8. dayes for his Navie which came not, he there hired 20. Gallies, and ten great barkes to ship over his men, and so came to Naples, and so partly by horse and wagon, and partly by the sea, passing to Falernum, came to Calabria, where after that he had heard that his ships were arrived at Messina in Sicilie, he made the more speed, and so the 23. of September entred Messina with such a noyse of Trumpets and Shalmes, with such a rout and shew, that it was to the great wonderment and terror both of the Frenchmen, and of all other that did heare and behold the sight.

To the said towne of Messina the French king was come before the 16. of the same moneth of September, and had taken up the pallace of Tancredus king of Sicily for his lodging : to whom king Richard after his arrivall eftsoones resorted, and when the two kings had communed together, immediately the French king tooke shipping and entred the seas, thinking to saile towards the land of Jerusalem : but after he was out of the haven, the winde rising contrary against him, returned him backe againe to Messina. Then king Richard (whose lodging was prepared in the suburbs without the Citie) after he had resorted againe and talked with the French king, and also had sent to Tancredus king of Sicily, for deliverance of Joane his sister (who had bin somtimes Queene of Sicily) and had obtained her to be sent unto him, the last day of September passed over the streight del Fare, and there getting a strong hold called de la Baguare, or le Bamare, and there placing his sister with a sufficient garrison, he returned againe to Messina.

The 2. of October king Richard wan another strong hold, called Monasterium Griffonum, situated in ye midst of the streight del Fare, betweene Messina & Calabria, from whence ye Monks being expelled, he reposed there all his store and provision of victuals, which came from England or other places.

The Citizens of Messina seeing that the king of

England had wonne the castle and Island de le Baguare, and also the Monasterie of the Griffons, and doubting least the king would extend his power further to invade their Citie, & get if he could the whole Isle of Sicilie, began to stirre against the Kings armie, and to shut the Englishmen out of the gates, and kept their walles against them. The Englishmen seeing that, made to the gates, and by force would have broken them open, insomuch that the King riding amongst them with his staffe, and breaking divers of their heads, could not asswage their fiercenesse, such was the rage of the Englishmen agaynst the citizens of Messina. The King seeing the furie of his people to be such that hee could not stay them, tooke boate, and went to the pallace of king Tancred, to talke of the matter with the French king, in which meane time the matter was so taken up by the wise handling of the ancients of the citie, that both parts laying downe their armour, went home in peace.

The fourth day of the sayd moneth of October, came to king Richard the Archbishop of Messina with two other Archbishops also with the French king, and sundry other Earles, Barons, and Bishops, to intreat of peace, who as they were together consulting, and had almost concluded upon the peace, the Citizens of Messina issuing out of the towne, some went up upon the mountains, some with open force invaded the mansion or lodging of Hugh Brune an English captaine. The noyse whereof comming to the eares of the King, hee suddenly breaking off talke with the French king and the rest, departed from them, and comming to his men, commanded them forthwith to arme themselves. Who then with certaine of his souldiours making up to the top of the mountaine (which seemed to passe their power to climbe) there put the Citizens to flight, chasing them downe the mountaines, unto the very gates of the citie, whom also certaine of the kings servants pursued into the citie, of whom five valiant souldiers & twentie of the kings servants were slaine, the French King looking upon, and not once willing to rescue them, contrary to his othe, and league before made with the king of England: for the French king with his men being there present, rode in the midst of them safely, and without any harme too and fro, and might well have eased the Kings partie, more then he, if it had so liked him.

This being knowne to the English hoste how their fellowes were slaine, and the Frenchmen permitted in the citie, and that they were excluded and the gates barred against them, being also stopped from buying of victuall, & other things, they upon great indignation gathered themselves in armes, brast open the gates, and scaled the wals, and so winning the citie, set up their flags with the English armes upon the wals: which when the French King did see, he was mightily offended, requiring the King of England that the Armes of France might also be set up, & joyned with his: but King Richard to that would in no case agree, notwithstanding to satisfie his minde, he was contented to take downe his Armes, and to commit the custodie of the citie to the Hospitalaries and Templaries of Jerusalem, till the time that Tancred king of Sicily and he should agree together upon conditions.

These things being done the fift and sixth day of October, it followed then upon the eight day of the same, that peace was concluded among the kings. In which peace, first king Richard, & Philip the French king renewed againe their oth and league before made, concerning their mutual aide and societie, during the time of that peregrination.

Secondly, peace also was concluded betweene king Richard and Tancred king of Sicily aforesaide, with conditions, that the daughter of Tancrede in case king Richard should die without issue, should be married to Arthur Duke of Britaine the kings Nephew and next heire to his crowne, whereof a formall charte was drawn, and letters sent thereof to Pope Clement being dated the ninth of November.

From this time untill Februarie the next yeere these two kings kept still at Messana, either for lacke of winde and weather, or for the repairing of their shippes. And in the aforesayde Februarie, in the yeere 1191. King Richard sent over his gallies to Naples, there to meete his mother Elinore, and Berengaria the daughter of Zanctius king of Navarre, whom he was purposed to marry, who by that time were come to Brundusium, under the conduct of Philip Earle of Flanders, and so proceeding unto Naples, they found the kings shippes wherein they sayled to Messana.

In this meane space, king Richard shewed himselfe exceeding bounteous and liberall to all men: to the French

king first he gave divers shippes, upon others likewise he bestowed riche rewardes, and of his treasure and goods he destributed largely to his souldiers and servants about him, of whom it was reported, that he distributed more in one moneth, then any of his predecessors did in a whole yeere : by reason whereof he purchased great love and favour, which not onely redounded to the advancement of his fame, but also to his singular use and profite, as the sequele afterward proved.

The first day of March following, he left the citie of Messina, where the French King was, and went to Catheneia, a citie where Tancredus king of Sicily then lay, where he was honorably received, and there remained with king Tancredus three dayes and three nights. On the fourth day when he should depart, the aforesaid Tancredus offred him many rich presents in gold and silver, and precious silkes, whereof king Richard would receive nothing, but one little ring for a token of his good will : for the which king Richard gave againe unto him a riche sworde. At length when king Richard should take his leave, king Tancred would not let him so depart, but needes would give him 4. great shippes, and 15. gallies, and furthermore hee himselfe would needes accompanie him the space of two dayes journey, to a place called Tavernium.

Then the next morning when they should take their leave, Tancredus declared unto him the message, which the French King a little before had sent unto him by the Duke of Burgundie, the contents whereof were these : That the King of England was a false Traytour, & would never keepe the peace that was betweene them : and if the sayd Tancredus would warre against him, or secretly by night would invade him, he with all his power would assist him, to the destruction of him and all his armie. To whom Richard the King protested againe, that he was no traytour, nor never had bene : and as touching the peace begun betwixt them, the same should never be broken through him : neither could he beleeve that the French King being his good lord, and his sworne Companion in that voyage, would utter any such wordes by him. Which when Tancredus heard, he bringeth soorth the letters of the French king, sent to him by the Duke of Burgundie, affirming moreover, that if the Duke of Burgundie would denie the bringing of the said letters, he

was readie to trie it with him by any of his Dukes. King Richard receiving the letters, and musing not a little upon the same, returneth againe to Messana. The same day that King Richard departed, the French king came to Tavernium to speake with Tancred, and there abode with him that night, and on the morowe returned to Messana againe.

From that time King Richard mooved in stomacke against King Philip, never shewed any gentle countenance of peace & amitie, as he before was woont: whereat the French king greatly marveiling, and enquiring earnestly what should be the cause thereof, word was sent him againe by Philip earle of Flanders from king Richard, what words he had sent to the king of Sicily, and for testimony thereof the letters were shewed, which he wrote by the duke of Burgundie to the king of Sicily: which when the French king understood, first he held his peace as guilty in his conscience, not knowing well what to answer. At length turning his tale to another matter, he began to quarrell with king Richard, pretending as though he sought causes to breake with him, and to maligne him: and therefore he forged (sayd he) these lies upon him, and all because he by that meanes would avoid to marry with Alise his sister, according as he had promised. Adding moreover that if he would so do, and would not marry the said Alise his sister according to his oth, he would be an enemy to him, and to his, while he lived.

To this king Richard sayd againe, that he could by no meanes marry that woman, forsomuch as his father had carnall copulation with her, and also had by her a sonne: for prooffe whereof he had there presently to bring forth divers & sundry witnesses to the kings face, to testifie with him.

In conclusion, through counsell and perswasion of divers about the French king, agreement at last was made, so that king Philip did acquite king Richard from this bond of marrying his sister, and king Richard againe should be bound to pay to him every yeere for the space of five yeeres, two thousand markes, with certaine other conditions besides, not greatly materiall for this place. And thus peace being betweene them concluded the 28 day of the sayd moneth of March, the French king lanching out of the haven of Messana, the 22 day after in

the Easter weeke, came with his armie to the siege of Achon.

After the departure of the French king from Messana, king Richard with his armie yet remaining behinde, arrived Queene Alinor the kings mother, bringing with her Berengaria the king of Navars daughter, to be espoused to king Richard: which being done, king Richard in April following, about the 20 day of the sayd moneth, departed from the haven of Messana with 150 great ships, and 53 great gallies well manned and appointed, and tooke his journey toward Achon: who being upon the Seas on Good friday about the ninth houre, rose a mighty South winde with a tempest, which dissevered and scattered all his Navie, some to one place, and some to another. The king with a few ships was driven to the Ile of Creta, and there before the haven of Rhodes cast anker. The ships that caried the kings sister, queene of Sicily, and Berengaria the king of Navars daughter, with two ships were driven to the Ile of Cyprus.

The king making great mone for the ships of his sister, and Berengaria his wife that should be, not knowing where they were become, after the tempest was overblown, sent forth his gallies diligently to seeke the rest of his Navie dispersed, but especially the shippe wherein his sister was, and the maiden whom he should marry, who at length were found safe and merry at the port of Lymsem in the Ile of Cyprus, notwithstanding the two other ships, which were in their company before in the same haven, were drowned with divers of the kings servants and men of worship, among whom was M. Roger, called Malus Catulus, the kings Vicechancellour, who was found with the kings seale hanging about his necke.

The king of Cyprus was then Isakius (called also the Emperour of the Gryffons) who tooke and imprisoned all English men, which by shipwracke were cast upon his land, also inveigled into his hands the goods and prises of them which were found drowned about his coastes, neither would suffer the ships wherein the two ladies were to enter within the port.

The tidings of this being brought to king Richard, he in great wrath gathering his gallies and ships together, boordeth the land of Cyprus, where he first in gentle wise signifieth to king Isakius, how he with his English

men, comming as strangers to the supportation of the holy land, were by distresse of weather driven upon his bounds, and therefore with all humble petition besought him in Gods behalfe, and for reverence of the holy crosse, to let go such prisoners of his as he had in captivitie, and to restore againe the goods of them that were drowned, which he detened in his hands, to be employed for the behoofe of their soules. And this the king once, twise, and thrise desired of the Emperour: but he proudly answering againe, sent the king word, that he neither would let the captives go, nor render the goods of them which were drowned.

When king Richard heard this, how light the Emperour Isakius made of his so humble and honest petition, & how that nothing could be gotten without violent force, eft-soones giveth commandement thorowout all his hoste to put themselves in armour and follow him, to revenge the injuries received of that proud and cruell king of Cyprus, willing them to put their trust in God, and not to misdoubt but that the Lord would stand with them, and give them the victory. The Emperour in the meane time with his people stood warding the Sea coasts, where the English men should arrive, with swords, billes, and lances, and such other weapons as they had, setting boordes, stooles, and chestes before them as a wall: few of them were harnessed, and for the most part all unexpert and unskillfull in the feates of warre.

Then king Richard with his souldiers issuing out of their ships, first set his bowemen before, who with their shot made a way for others to followe. The Englishmen thus winning the land upon them, so fiercely pressed upon the Gryffons, that after long fighting and many blowes, at last the Emperour was put to flight, whom king Richard valiantly pursued, and slue many, and divers he tooke alive, and had gone neere also to take the Emperour, had not the night come on and parted the battell. And thus king Richard with much spoyle, and great victory, returning to the port Towne of Lymsem, which the Townesmen had left for feare, found there great abundance of corne, wine, oyle and victuals.

The day after the victory gotten, Joanna the Kings sister, and Berengaria the mayden, entred the Porte and Towne of Lymsem, with 50. great ships, and 14 galliots: so that all the whole Navie there meeting

together, were 254. tall shippes, and above threescore galliots. Then Isakius the Emperour, seeing no way for him to escape by Sea, the same night pitched his tentes five miles off from the English army, swearing that the third day after, he would surely give battell to king Richard: but he preventing him before, suddenly the same morning before the day of battell should be, setteth upon the tentes of the Gryffons early in the morning, they being unawares and a sleepe, and made of them a great slaughter, insomuch that the Emperour was faine to runne away naked, leaving his tents and pavilions to the Englishmen, full of horses and rich treasure, also with the Imperial standerd, the lower part whereof with a costly streamer was covered, and wrought all with golde.

King Richard returning with victorie and triumph to his sister and Berengaria, shortly after in the moneth of May next following, and the 12. day of the said moneth, married the said Berengaria daughter of Zanctius, king of Navarre, in the yle of Cyprus at Lymsem.

The king of Cyprus seeing himselfe overmatched, was driven at length to yeelde himselfe with conditions to give king Richard 20000. markes in golde for amends of such spoyles as he had gotten of them that were drowned, also to restore all the captives againe to the king: and furthermore, he in his owne person to attend upon the king to the lande of Jerusalem, in Gods service and his, with 400. horsemen, and 500. footemen: in pledge whereof he would give to his hands his castles, and his onely daughter, and would hold his kingdome of him.

This done, and the Emperour swearing fidelitie to king Richard before Guido king of Jerusalem, and the prince of Antioche (who were come thither to king Richard a little before) peace was taken, and Isakius committed to the warde of certaine keepers. Notwithstanding shortly after he breaking from his keepers, was againe at defiance with the King: whereupon king Richard besetting the Iland of Cyprus round about with shippes and gallies, did in such sort prevaile, that the subjects of the land were constrained to yeelde themselves to the King, and at last the daughter of the Emperour, and the Emperour himselfe, whom king Richard caused to be kept in fetters of gold and silver, and to be sent to the citie of Tripolis.

These things thus done, and all set in order touching the possession of the Ile of Cyprus, the keeping whereof

he committed to Radulphe soone of Godfrey Lord Chamberlaine, being then the first day of June upon the fift of the saide moneth, king Richard departed from the Ile of Cyprus, with his shippes and gallies toward the siege of Achon, and on the next morrowe came to Tyrus, where by procurement of the French king he was restrained by the Citizens to enter. The next day after, which was the first day of June, crossing the seas, he met with a great carak fraught with souldiers and men of warre to the number of a thousand and five hundred, which pretending to be Frenchmen, and setting foorth their flagge with the French armes, were indeede Saracens, secretly sent with wilde fire and certaine barrells of unknown serpents to the defence of the towne of Achon, which king Richard at length perceiving, eftsoones set upon them and so vanquished them, of whom the most were drowned and some taken alive: which being once knowen in the citie of Achon, as it was a great discomfort to them, so it was a great helpe to the Christians for winning the citie.

The next day after which was the seventh of June, king Richard came to Achon, which at that time had bene long besieged by the Christians. After whose comming it was not long, but the Pagans within the citie, seeing their wals to be undermined and towers overthrown, were driven by composition to escape with life and limme, to surrender the citie to the two kings.

Another great helpe to the Christians in winning the citie, was this. In the said city of Achon there was a secret Christian among the Saracens, who in time of the siege thereof used at sundry times to cast over the wals into the campe of the Christians, certaine bills written in Hebrue, Greeke, and Latine, wherein he disclosed to the Christians from time to time, the doings and counsels of the enemies, advertising them how and what way they should worke, and what to beware, and alwayes his letters began thus. In nomine Patris, & Filii, & Spiritus sancti Amen. By reason whereof the Christians were much advantaged in their proceedings: but this was a great heaviness unto them, that neither he would utter his name, nor when the citie was got did they ever understand who he was.

To make of a long siege a short narration. Upon the twelfth day of July the yeere aforesaid, the Princes and

Captaines of the Pagans, upon agreement resorted to the tent of the Templaries to commune with the two kings touching peace, and giving up of their citie : the forme of which peace was thus.

1 That the Kings should have the citie of Achon freely and fully delivered unto them, with all which was therein.

2 That 500. captives of the Christians should be restored to them, which were in Achon.

3 That the holy crosse should be to them rendred, and a thousand Christian captives with two hundreth horsemen, whosoever they themselves would chose out of all them which were in the power of the Saladine.

4 That they would give unto the Kings two hundreth thousand Bysants, so that they themselves should remaine as pledges in the Kings hands, for the performance hereof, that if in fortie daies, the aforesayd covenants were not accomplished, they should abide the Kings mercie touching life and limme.

These covenants being agreed upon, the Kings sent their souldiers and servants into the citie, to take a hundreth of the richest & best of the city, to close them up in towers under strong keeping, & the residue they committed to be kept in houses and in streetes, ministring unto them according to their necessities : to whom notwithstanding this they premitted, that so many of them as would be baptized and receive the faith of Christ, should be free to goe whither they would : wherupon many there were of the Pagans, which for feare of death pretended to be baptized, but afterward so soone as they could, revolted againe to the Saladine : for the which it was afterward commanded by the Kings, that none of them should be baptized against their wils.

The thirteenth day of the said moneth of July, King Philip of France, and king Richard, after they had obtained the possession of Achon, devided betweene them all things therein contained as well the people as golde and silver, with all other furniture whatsoever was remaining in the citie : who in deviding the spoyle, were so good carvers to themselves that the Knights and Barons had but litle to their share, whereupon they began to shew themselves somewhat discontented, which being knowne of the kings, they sent them answere that their wils should be satisfied.

The twentieth day of July, king Richard speaking with the French King, desired him that they two with their armies, would binde themselves by othe to remaine there stil in the land of Jerusalem the space of 3. veeres, for the winning and recovering againe of those countreys: but he sayd he would sweare no such othe, and so the next day after king Richard with his wife and sister entred into the citie of Achon, and there placed himselfe in the kings pallace: The French king remayning in the houses of the Templaries, where he continued till the end of that moneth.

About the beginning of the moneth of August, Philip the French king after that he and King Richard had made agreement betweene Guido & Conradus the Marques, about the kingdome of Jerusalem, went from Achon to Tyrus, notwithstanding king Richard & all the Princes of the Christian armie with great intreatie desired him to tary, shewing what a shame it were for him to come so farre, and now to leave undone that for which he came, and on the 3. day of August departed from Tyrus, leaving the halfe part of the Citie of Achon, in the hands of the aforesayd Conradus Marques.

After his departure the Pagans refused to keepe their covenants made, who neither would restore the holy Crosse nor the money, nor their captives, sending word to king Richard, that if he beheaded the pledges left with him at Achon, they would choppe off the heads of such captives of the Christians, as were in their hands.

Shortly after this the Saladine sending great gifts to king Richard, requested the time limited for beheading of the captives to be proroged, but the king refused to take his gifts, and to graunt his request, whereupon the Saladine caused all the Christian captives within his possession forthwith to be beheaded, which was the 28. of August: which albeit king Richard understood, yet would not he prevent the time before limited for the execution of his prisoners, being the 20. day of August: upon which day he caused the prisoners of the Saracens openly in the sight of the Saladines armie to loose their heads: the number of whom came to two thousand and five hundreth, save onely that certaine of the principal of them he reserved for purposes and considerations, especially to make exchange for the holy Crosse, and certaine other of the Christian captives.

After this king Richard purposed to besiege the Citie of Joppe, where by the way betwene Achon and Joppe, neere to a towne called Assur, Saladine with a great multitude of his Saracens came fiercely against the kings rereward, but through Gods mercifull grace in the same battell, the kings warriers acquitted themselves so well, that the Saladine was put to flight, whom the Christians pursued the space of 3. miles, & he lost that same day many of his Nobles & Captaines, in such sort (as it was thought) that the Saladine was not put to such confusion 40. yeres before, and but one Christian Captaine called James Avernus in that conflict was overthrowen.

From thence king Richard proceeding further went to Joppe, and then to Ascalon, where he found first the citie of Joppe forsaken of the Saracens, who durst not abide the kings comming: Ascalon the Saladine threw downe to the ground, & likewise forsooke the whole land of Syria, through all which land the king had free passage without resistance: neither durst the Saracene Prince encounter after that with K. Richard. Of all which his atchevances the sayd K. Richard sent his letters of certificate as well into England, as also to the Abbot of Clara valle in France, well hoping y^t he God willing should be able to make his repaire againe to them by Easter next.

Many other famous acts were done in this voyage by these two Kings, and moe should have bene, had not they falling into discorde dissevered themselves, by reason whereof Philip the French king returned home againe within short space: who being returned againe eftsoones invaded the countrey of Normandy, exciting also John the brother of king Richard, to take on him the kingdome of Englande in his brothers absence: who then made league upon the same with the French king, and did homage unto him, which was about the fourth yeere of king Richard. Who then being in Syria, and hearing thereof, made peace with the Turkes for three yeeres: and not long after, king Richard the next spring following returned also, who in his returne driven by distresse of weather about the parts of Histria, in a towne called Synaca, was there taken by Lypold, Duke of the same countrey, and so solde to the Emperour for sixtie thousand Markes: who for no small joy thereof, writeth to Philip the French king, these letters here following.

The letter of the Emperour to Philip the French king, concerning the taking of King Richard.

HENRICUS Dei gratia Romanorum Imperator, & semper Augustus, Dilecto & speciali amico suo, Philippo illustri Francorum Regi salutem, & sinceræ dilectionis affectum. Quoniam Imperatoria Celsitudo non dubitat Regalem Magnificentiam tuam lætiores effici, de universis quibus omnipotentia creatoris nostri nos ipsos, & Romanum Imperium honoraverit & exaltaverit, nobilitati tuæ tenore præsentium declarare duximus, quod inimicus Imperii nostri, & turbator Regni tui Rex Angliæ, quum esset in transeundo mare ad partes suas reversurus, accidit ut ventus rupta navi sua, in qua ipse erat, induceret eum in partes Histriæ ad locum qui est inter Aquileiam, & Venetias. Ubi Rex, Dei permissione passus naufragium cum paucis evasit.

Quidam itaque fidelis noster Comes, Maynardus de Grooxce, & populus regionis illius, audito quod in terra erat, & considerato diligentius, qualem nominatus Rex in terra promissionis prodicionem & traditionem, & perditionis suæ cumulum exercuerat, insecuti sunt, intendentes eum captivare. Ipso autem Rege in fugam converso, ceperunt de suis octo milites : Postmodum processit Rex ad Burgum in Archiepiscopatu Salseburgensi, qui vocatur Frisorum, ubi Fridericus de Betesow, Rege cum tribus tantum versus Austriam properante, noctu sex milites de suis cœpit : Dilectus autem Consanguineus noster Lypoldus Dux Austriæ, observata strata sæpè, dictum Regem juxta Denam in villa viciniori in domo despecta captivavit.

Cum itaque in nostra nunc habeatur Potestate, & ipse semper tua molestavit, & turbationis operam præstiterit, ea quæ præmisimus, nobilitati tuæ insinuare curavimus : scientes ea dilectioni tuæ bene placita existere, animo tuo uberrimam importare lætitiā. Datum apud Ritheountum 5. Kalendas Janua.

King Richard being thus traiterously taken, and solde to the Emperour by the Duke of Austridge for 60000. markes, was there kept in custodie a yeere and 3. moneths.

In some stories it is affirmed, that King Richard returning out of Asia, came to Italy with prosperous winde, where he desired of the Pope to be absolved of an othe made against his will and could not obtaine it : and so

setting out from thence towards England, passing by the Countrey of Conradus the Marques, whose death (he being slaine a litle before) was falsly imputed by the French king to the king of England, there traiterously was taken (as is aforesayde) by Limpoldus duke of Austridge.

Albeit in another storie I finde the matter more credibly set forth: which saith thus. That king Richard slewe the brother of this Limpoldus, playing with him at Chesse in the French Kings Court: and Limpoldus taking his vantage, was more cruel against him and delivered him (as is sayde) to the Emperour. In whose custodie he was detained during the time above mentioned, a yeere & 3 moneths. During which time of the kings endurance, the French king in the meane season stirred warre in Normandie: and Earle John the Kings brother, made stirre and invaded England, but the Barons and Bishops of the land mightily withstood him.

At length it was so agreed and concluded with the Emperour, that king Richard should be released for a hundreth and foure thousand pound: of which money part should remaine to the Duke of Austridge, the rest should be the Emperours. The summe of which money was here gathered and made in England of chalices, crosses, shrines, candlestickes and other Church plate, also with publike contribution of Friers, Abbots, and other subjects of the Realme: whereof part was presently paid, and for the residue remaining, hostages and pledges were taken, which was about the fift yeere of his reigne: and then it was obtained of the Pope, that Priestes might celebrate with Chalices of latten and tinne.

At what time this aforesaide money was payde, and the hostages given for the ransome of the King, I have an olde historie which saith, that the aforesaid Duke of Austridge was shortly after plagued by God, with 5. sundry plagues.

First, with the burning of his chiefe Townes.

2. With drowning of tenne thousand of his men in a flood happening no man can tell how.

3. By turning all the eares of his corne fieldes into wormes.

4. By taking away almost all the Nobles of his land by death.

5. By breaking his owne leg falling from his horse,

which leg he was compelled to cut off with his owne hands, and afterwards died of the same: who then at his death is reported to forgive K. Richard 50000. marks, and sent home the hostages that were with him. And further a certaine booke intituled Eulogium declareth, that the sayd Limpoldus duke of Austrich fell in displeasure with the bishop of Rome, and died excommunicate the next yeere after, Anno 1196.

But thus, as you have heard, Richard the King was ransomed & delivered from the covetous captivitie of the Emperour, and returning home made an ende of his voyage for Asia, which was both honourable to himselfe and to all Christian states, but to the Saracens the enemies of Christianitie, terrible and dishonourable.

This historie of King Richards voiage to Jerusalem is very excellently and largely written in Latine by Guilielmus Neobrigensis, and Roger Hoveden.

Epitaphium Richardi primi regis Anglorum apud fontem Ebraldi.

SCRIBITUR hoc auro, rex auree, laus tua tota
aurea, materiæ conveniente nota.

Laus tua prima fuit Siculi, Cyprus altera, Dromo
tertia, Caruanna quarta, suprema Jope.

Retrusi Siculi, Cyprus pessundata, Dromo
mersus, Caruanna capta, retenta Jope.

Epitaphium ejusdem ubi viscera ejus requiescunt.

VISCERA KAREOLUM, corpus fons servat Ebraldi,
& cor Rothomagus, magne Richarde, tuum.

The life and travailes of Baldwinus Devonius,
sometime Archbishop of Canterbury.

BALDWINE a Devonshire man borne in Exceter of mean parentage, was a very eloquent man, an exact Philosopher, and in those dayes very excellent in all kind of studies. He was first of all a Schoolemaster: afterwards he became an Archdeacon, very famous for his learning & wisdom in all his doings. He was also a Cistercian Monke and Abbot of Foord Monasterie, and the chiefe of all those that were of his order: he grew after this to be bishop of Worcester, and at last after the death of Archb.

Richard he was promoted & made Archbishop of Canterbury, and Primate of all England. In the discharge of which place he being very vigilant, shewed himselfe a worthy Pastor, sowing the seed of Gods word in every place as farre foorth as the iniquitie of that time permitted. In his time king Richard with all indeavour prepared a Fleet and all things necessary for waging of warre against the Infidels at Jerusalem, taking with him the standerd and ensignes of the kingdome. This Baldwine eftsoones folowed the king into Syria and Palestina, as one desirous to be partaker of his travailes, paines, and perils in so holy a voyage. Hee was Archbishop of Canterburie almost sixe yerres: but having followed the king into Syria, in the yeere 1190. he died at Tyre, where he was also buried.

An annotation concerning the travailes of the sayd Baldwine, taken out of Giraldus Cambrensis, in his *Itinerarium Cambriæ*, lib. 2. Cap. 14. Fol. 229.

THIS Baldwine being the second successor unto Thomas Becket, after he had heard ye wrong which was done to our Saviour, and the signe of the Crosse by Saladine the Sultan of Egypt, taking upon him the Lords Character, he courageously perfourmed his office of preaching in the obedience thereof, as well in farre distant Countreies as at home. And afterwards taking his journey and imbarcking himselfe at Marseils, having at length passed ye Levant sea, he arrived safely in the Haven of Tyrus, and from thence went over to Achon unto our armie, besieging the Towne, and yet (as it were) besieged it selfe: where finding many of our Countreyemen, and almost all men remaining in wonderfull pensivenesse and despaire, through the withdrawing of the Princes, some of them tyred with long expectation, others grievously afflicted with hunger and povertie, and others distempered with the heate of the weather, being ready happily to ende his dayes in the Holy land, embracing every one according to his abilitie in the bond of love, he ayded them at his costes and charges, and strengthened them with his wordes and good examples of life.

A note drawn out of a very ancient booke remaining in the hands of the right worshipfull M. Thomas Tilney Esquire, touching Sir Frederike Tilney his ancestor, knighted at Acon in the Holy land for his valour, by K. Richard the first, as foloweth.

THIS booke pertained in times past unto Sir Frederick Tilney of Boston in the Countie of Lincolne, who was knighted at Acon in the land of Jurie, in the third yeere of the reigne of king Richard the first. This knight was of a tall stature, and strong of body, who resteth interred with his forefathers at Tirrington, neere unto a towne in Marshland called by his owne name Tilney. The just height of this knight is there kept in safe custody untill this very day. Also, after this mans decease, the inheritance of his landes fell successively unto sixteene sundry knights called all by the name of Tilney, who dwelt alwayes, one after another, at the towne of Boston aforesayd, untill such time as the possessions of the elder brother fell unto an heire general, which was married unto John duke of Northfolke. The last knight of that name was sir Philip Tilney late of Shelleigh in the Countie of Suffolke, predecessor and father unto Thomas Tilney of Hadleigh in the Countie aforesayd Esquire, unto whom the sayd booke of late appertained. In the yeere of his age 64. and in the yeere of our Lord, 1556.

The travailes of one Richard surnamed Canonicus.

RICHARD surnamed Canonicus an observant Frier of Trinitie Church in London, was in great love with the studies of good Artes, and tooke paines in them and learned them. And at last by his continuall endeavour and long exercise therein, hee grewe to bee such an Oratour and Poet, as fewe were in that age living, by reason whereof hee grew in favour with Richard then King of England, and undertooke that long voyage with him into Palestina and Syria agaynst the Turkes. From whence being returned againe into England, hee faithfully described both in Verse and Prose all such things as hee had seene in the Cities, fieldes and tentes of the souldiours, where hee was present, and omitted not to note the behaviour, forme, and proportion of body in the foresayd king, giving to his notable worke this most apt name for the title, The Journall of King Richard. He flourished

in the yeere of our Redemption 1200. under John king of England.

The travailes of Gulielmus Peregrinus.

WILLIAM the Pilgrime, a very excellent Poet in those dayes and an Englishman borne, was of great fame, being much given to good letters, (as many then were) and bestowed his good time in the best kinde of studies. Hee understanding of the preparation of king Richard against the Saracens, prepared himselfe also for the same voyage, not onely as a Souldiour, but as a Pilgrime also. He sawe those things which happened in the Spanish Seas, and which were done in Syria and Palestina, against the Sultan the king of Babylon, and the trecherous Saracens. All which things he wrote and expressed them as it were in lively colours, as if they had bene still in doing before his eyes, and handled the same Argument in Heroicall verse which the forenamed Richard Canonicus did. And having finished his worke he dedicated it to Hubert Archbishop of Canterburie, and to Stephen Turneham a most expert Captaine of the warres, giving it this Title, The expedition of King Richard. And I doubt not but that so good a Poet as hee was published many other things, but whether they be extant yea or no, I know not: but this I know, that he was a man well accounted of, and flourished in the yeere after the birth of Christ 1200. under king John.

The large contribution to the succour of the Holy land, made by king John king of England, in the third yeere of his reigne 1201. Matth. Paris and Holinsh. pag. 164.

AT the same time also the kings of France and England gave large money towards the maintenance of the army which at this present went soorth under the leading of the earle of Flanders and other, to warre against the enemies of the Christian faith at the instance of pope Innocent. There was furthermore granted unto them the fortieth part of all the revenues belonging unto ecclesiasticall persons, towards the ayd of the Christians then being in the Holy land: and all such aswel of the nobility, as other of the weaker sort, which had taken upon them the crosse, and secretly layed it downe were compelled eftsoones to receive it now againe.

The travailes of Hubert Walter bishop of Sarisburie.

HUBERT WALTER bishop of Sarisburie, a vertuous man, and famous for his good wit and piety, was one of the chiefest of them that followed king Richard into Syria going against the Saracens. As he returned from Palæstina and came in his journey into Sicilia, he there heard of the ill fortune of the king being fallen into his enemies handes, and thereupon leaving his journey homewards, he went presently and in all haste to the place where the king was captived, whom the king immediatly upon his comming sent into England, that by the authority of the councell, a tribute might be collected for his redemption: which this Hubert performed with great diligence, and delivered the king. After this he was made Archbishop of Canterburie, and after the death of king Richard he shewed the like dueties of fidelitie and trust to his brother John that succeeded him. For by a long oration he perswaded the whole nation of the English men, that he was a very circumspect man, vertuous, valiant, borne of noble parentage, and most woorthy of the crowne. Whereupon he was so received of all the people and crowned king. He wrote certaine books, and died at the last with very great grieve of minde, in the yeere 1205, having beene archbishop the space of 11 yeres 8 moneths and sixe dayes, by reason of the civil discords abroad, whereby all things went topsie turvy, and in the reigne of king John.

The travailes of Robert Curson.

ROBERT CURSON descended of a noble family of England, used great diligence aswell in prophane as in divine studies in the famous University of Oxford (as I conjecture.) He had there the best scholemasters that were to be gotten, and was most industrious in the arts and continual exercises of learning: by meanes whereof he grew to be of great renowne where he lived. Afterward thinking of greater matters he went to Paris, and thence to Rome it selfe, and at Paris he proceeded doctor of Divinity, at Rome he was made cardinall: whereupon both Matthew Paris & Matthew of Westminster produce this testimony of him, the one in his second booke, the other in his eight booke of Chronicles. In the yere of our Lord (say they) 1218, at the taking of Damiata a

city of Egypt under John Brenne king of Jerusalem, M. Robert Curson an English man, a most famous clearke of noble parentage, and cardinall of the church of Rome, was there with Pelagius Albanensis, &c. Boston of Burie in Suffolke in his catalogue reporteth, that he wrote divers books. He flourished in the yeere aforesayd by the witnesses aforesayd. Henry the third sonne of king John being then king of England: and by the further testimony of Boston, this Curson was legate into England in the dayes of Honorious the third, bishop of Rome.

The voyage of Ranulph earle of Chester, of Saer Quincy earle of Winchester, William de Albanie earle of Arundel, with divers other noble men to the Holy land, in the second yere of K. Henry the third. Matth. Paris. Holensh. pag. 202.

IN the yeere 1218, Ranulph earle of Chester was sent into the Holy land by king Henry the third with a goodly company of souldiers and men of warre, to ayde the Christians there against the Infidels, which at the same time had besieged the city of Damiata in Egypt. In which enterprise the valiancy of the same earle after his comming thither was to his great praise most apparant. There went with him in that journey Saer de Quincy earle of Winchester, William de Albanie earle of Arundel, beside divers barons, as the lord Robert fitz Walter, John constable of Chester, William de Harecourt, and Oliver fitz Roy sonne to the king of England, and divers others.

The voyage of Henry Bohun and Saer Quincy to the Holy land.

THIS yere, being the sixt yere of Henry the third, deceased Henry de Bohun earle of Hereford, and Saer de Quincy earle of Winchester, in their journey which they made to the Holy land. Matth. Paris. Holensh. pag. 202. col. 2.

The travailes of Ranulph Glanville earle of Chester.

RANULPH GLANVILLE earle of Chester, a man of a very noble house, and learned in both the Lawes, deserves of duetie to be here placed by me in the catalogue of woorthy and notable men. He applied so well all the yeeres of his youth to the study of humane and divine Lawes, that

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same time : but whereas the earle of Cornwall tooke the sea at Marseils, the earle of Leicester passed thorow Italy, and tooke shipping at Brindize in Apulia : and with him went these persons of name, Thomas de Furnival with his brother Gerard de Furnivall, Hugh Wake, Almerike de S. Aumond, Wiscard Ledet, Punchard de Dewin, and William de Dewin that were brethren, Gerard Pesmes, Fouke de Baugie, and Peter de Chauntenay.

Shortly after also John earle of Albemarle, William Fortis, and Peter de Mallow a Poietouin, men for their valiancy greatly renowned, went thither, leading with them a great number of Christian souldiers. Matth. Paris. Matth. West. Holesh. pag. 225. col. 2.

The comming of the Emperour of Constantinople called Baldwin into England in the yere 1247, out of Matth. Paris, & Holensh. pag. 239. vol. 2.

ABOUT the same time, Baldwin naming himselfe emperour of Constantinople, came againe into England, to procure some new ayd of the king towards the recovery of his empire, out of the which he was expelled by the Greeks.

The voyage of William Longespee Earle of Sarisburie into Asia, in the yeere 1248, and in the 32 yeere of the reigne of Henry the third, king of England.

LEWIS the French king being recovered of his sicknesse which he fell into, in the yere 1234, vowed thereupon for a free will sacrifice to God, that he (if the Councell of his realme would suffer him) would in his owne person visit the Holy land : which matter was opened and debated in the Parliament of France held in the yeere 1247. Where at length it was concluded, that the king according to his vow should take his journey into Asia, and the time thereof was also prefixed, which should be after the feast of S. John Baptist the next yeere ensuing.

At which time William Longespee a worthie warrior, with the bishop of Worcester and certaine other great men in the Realme of England (mooved with the example of the Frenchmen) prepared themselves likewise to the same journey.

It fell out in this enterprise, that about the beginning of October, the French king assaulted and tooke Damiata, being the principall fort or hold of the Saracens in all Egypt, Anno 1249. and having fortified the Citie with

an able garrison left with the Duke of Burgundie, he remooved his tents from thence to goe Eastward. In whose armie followed William Longspee, accompanied with a piked number of English warriors retaining unto him. But such was the disdaine of the Frenchmen against this William Longspee and the Englishmen that they could not abide them, but flouted them after an opprobrious maner with English tailes, insomuch that the French king himselfe had much adoe to keepe peace betweene them.

The originall cause of this grudge betweene them began thus. There was not farre from Alexandria in Egypt a strong fort or castle replenished with great Ladies and rich treasure of the Saracens: which hold it chanced the sayd William Longspee with his company of English souldiers to get, more by politique dexteritie then by open force of armes, wherwith he & his retinue were greatly enriched. When the Frenchmen had knowledge hereof (they not being made privie hereto) began to conceive an heart burning against the English souldiers, & could not speake well of them after that.

It hapned againe not long after, that the sayd William had intelligence of a company of rich merchants among the Saracens going to a certaine Faire about the parts of Alexandria, having their camels, asses and mules, richly loden with silkes, precious jewels, spices, gold & silver, with cart loades of other wares, beside victuall and other furniture, whereof the souldiers then stood in great need: he having secret knowledge hereof, gathered all the power of Englishmen unto him that he could, and so by night falling upon the merchants, some he slew with their guides and conducters, some hee tooke, some hee put to flight: the carts with the drivers, and with the oxen, camels, asses and mules, with the whole cariage and victuals he tooke & brought with him, loosing in all the skirmish but one souldier, and eight of his servitors: of whom notwithstanding some he brought home wounded to be cured.

This being knowen in the Campe, foorth came the Frenchmen which all this while loytered in their pavilions, and meeting this cariage by the way, tooke all the foresayd praie whole to themselves, rating the said William and the Englishmen for adventuring and issuing out of the Campe without leave or knowledge of their

Generall, contrary to the discipline of warre. William said againe he had done nothing but he would answere to it, whose purpose was to have the spoyle devided to the behoofe of the whole armie.

When this would not serve, hee being sore grieved in his minde so cowardly to be spoyled of that which he so adventurously had travailed for, went to the King to complaine: But when no reason nor complaint would serve by reason of the proude Earle of Artoys the Kings brother, which upon spight and disdaine stood agaynst him, he bidding the King farewell sayd hee would serve him no longer: and so William de Longespee with the rest of his company breaking from the French hoste went to Achon. Upon whose departure the earle of Artoys sayd, Now is the army of French men well rid of these tailed people, which words spoken in great despiht were ill taken of many good men that heard them.

But not long after, when the keeper of Cayro & Babylonia, bearing a good mind to the Christian religion, and being offended also with the Souldan, promised to deliver the same to the French king, instructing him what course was best for him to take to accomplish it, the king hereupon in all haste sent for William Longespee, promising him a full redresse of all his injuries before received: who at the kings request came to him againe, and so joyned with the French power.

After this, it happened that the French king passing with his armie towards Cayro aforesayd, came to the great river Nilus, on the further part whereof the Soldan had pitched himselfe to withstand his comming over: there was at this time a Saracen lately converted to Christ, serving the earle Robert the French kings brother, who told him of the absence of the Soldan from his tents, and of a shallow foord in the river where they might easily passe over. Whereupon the sayd earle Robert & the Master of the Temple with a great power, esteemed to the third part of the army issued over the river, after whom followed W. Longspee with his band of English souldiers. These being joyned together on the other side of the water, encountred the same day with the Saracens remaining in the tents & put them to the worst. Which victory being gotten, the French eaile surprised with pride and triumph, as though hee had conquered the whole earth, would needs forward, dividing himselfe from the maine

hoste, thinking to winne the spurres alone. To whom certaine sage men of the Temple, giving him contrary counsell, advised him not to do so, but rather to returne and take their whole company with them, and so should they be more sure against all deceits and dangers, which might be layd privily for them. The maner of that people (they sayd) they better knew, and had more experience thereof then he: alledging moreover their wearied bodies, their tired horses, their famished souldiers, and the insufficiency also of their number, which was not able to withstand the multitude of the enemies, especially at this present brunt, in which the adversaries did well see the whole state of their dominion now to consist either in winning all or losing all.

Which when the proud earle did heare, being inflated with no lesse arrogancy then ignorance, with opprobrious taunts reviled them, calling them cowardly dastards, & betrayers of the whole countrey, objecting unto them the common report of many, which sayd, that the land of the holy crosse might soone be woon to Christendome, were it not for rebellious Templaries, with the Hospitalaries, and their followers.

To these contumelious rebukes, when the master of the Temple answered againe for him and his fellowes, bidding him display his ensigne when he would, and where he durst, they were as ready to follow him, as he to goe before them. Then began William de Longespe the worthy knight to speake, desiring the earle to give eare to those men of experience, who had better knowledge of those countreyes and people then had he, commending also their counsell to be discreet and wholesome, and so turning to the master of the Temple, began with gentle wordes to mittigate him likewise. The knight had not halfe ended his talke, when the Earle taking his wordes out of his mouth, began to fume and sweare, crying out of those cowardly Englishmen with tailes: What a pure armie (sayde he) should we have here, if these tailes and tailed people were purged from it, with other like words of villany, and much disdaine: whereunto the English knight answering againe, well, Earle Robert (said he) wheresoever you dare set your foote, my step shall go as farre as yours, and (as I beleeve) we goe this day where you shall not dare to come neere the taile of my horse, as in deede in the event it proved true: for Earle Robert

would needes set forward, weening to get all the glory to himselfe before the comming of the hoste, and first invaded a litle village or castle, which was not farre off, called Mansor. The countrey Boores and Pagans in the villages, seeing the Christians comming, ranne out with such a maine cry and shout, that it came to the Soldans hearing, who was neerer then our men did thinke. In the meane time, the Christians invading and entring into the munition incircumspectly, were pelted and pashed with stones by them which stood above, whereby a great number of our men were lost, and the armie sore maymed, and almost in despaire.

Then immediatly upon the same, commeth the Soldan with all his maine power, which seeing the Christian armie to be devided, and the brother separated from the brother, had that which he long wished for, and so inclosing them round about, that none should escape, had with them a cruell fight.

Then the earle began to repent him of his heady rashnes, but it was too late, who then seeing William the English knight doughtily fighting in the chiefe brunt of the enemies, cried unto him most cowardly to flie, seeing God (saith he) doth fight against us: To whom the Knight answering againe, God forbid (sayth he) that my fathers sonne should runne away from the face of a Saracene. The Earle then turning his horse, fled away, thinking to avoid by the swiftnes of his horse, and so taking the river Thafnis, oppressed with harnesse, was there sunken and drowned.

Thus the Earle being gone, the Frenchmen began to dispaire and scatter. Then William de Longespe bearing all the force of the enemies, stode against them as long as he could, wounding and slaying many a Saracen, till at length his horse being killed, and his legges maymed, he could no longer stande, who yet notwithstanding as he was downe, mangled their feete and legges, and did the Saracens much sorrow, till at last after many blowes and wounds, being stoned of the Saracens, he yeelded his life. And after the death of him, the Saracens setting upon the residue of the armie, whom they had compassed on every side, devoured and destroyed them all, inso-much that scarce one man remained alive, saving two Templaries, one Hospitaller, and one poore rascall souldier, which brought tidings, hercof to the King.

And thus by the imprudent and foolish hardines of that French Earle, the Frenchmen were discomfited, and that valiant English Knight overmatched, to the grieve of all Christian people, the glory of the Saracens, and the utter destruction and ruine of the whole French armie, as afterwards it appeared.

The Voyage of Prince Edward the sonne of king Henry the third into Asia in the yeere 1270.

ABOUT the yeere of our Lord, 1267. Octobonus the Popes Legate being in England, prince Edward the sonne of king Henry, and divers other Noble men of England tooke upon them the crosse upon S. John Baptists day, by the sayd Legates hands at Northampton, to the reliefe of the Holy land, and the subversion of the enemies of the crosse of Christ. For which purpose, and for the better furnishing of the prince towards the journey, there was granted him a subsidie throughout all the realme, and in the moneth of May, in the yeere of our Lord 1270. he began to set forward.

At Michaelmas following he with his company came to Eguemortes, which is from Marsilia eight leagues Westward, and there taking ship againe (having a mery and prosperous wind) within ten dayes arrived at Tunez, where he was with great joy welcommed, and entertained of the Christian princes that there were to this purpose assembled, as of Philip the French King, whose father Lodovicus died a litle before, of Carolus the king of Sicilia, and the two kings of Navarre and Arragon, and as this lord Edward came thither for his father the king of England, thither came also Henry the sonne of the king of Almaine for his father, who at his returne from the voyage was slaine in a chappell at Viterbium.

When prince Edward demanded of these kings and princes what was to be done, they answered him againe, and sayd, the prince of this citie and the province adjoyn-ing to the same hath bene accustomed to pay tribute unto the king of Sicily every yere: and now for that the same hath bene for the space of seven yeeres unpaied and more, therefore we thought good to make invasion upon him. But the king knowing the same tribute to be but justly demaunded, had now according to our owne desire satisfied for the time past, and also paied his tribute before hand.

Then sayd he, My Lords, what is this to the purpose? are we not here all assembled, & have taken upon us the Lords Character to fight against the infidels & enemies of Christ? What meane you then to conclude a peace with them? God forbid we should do so, for now the land is plaine and hard, so that we may approch to ye holy city Jerusalem. Then said they, now have we made a league with them, neither is it lawful for us to breake the same. But let us returne againe to Sicilia, and when the winter is past we may well take shipping to Acra. But this counsel nothing at all liked him, neither did he shew himselfe wel pleased therewith: but after hee had made them a princely banket, he went into his closet or privy chamber from amongst them, neither would be partaker of any of that wicked money which they had taken. They notwithstanding continuing their purpose, at the next mery wind tooke shipping, and for want of ships left 200. of their men a shore, crying out, and pitiously lamenting for the peril and hazard of death that they were in: wherewith prince Edward being somewhat mooved to compassion, came backe againe to the land, and received and stowed them in his owne ships, being the last that went aboard.

Within seven dayes after, they arrived in the kingdom of Sicilia, over agaynst the Citie Trapes, casting their ankers a league from thence within the sea, for that their shippes were of great burden, and throughly fraught: and from the haven of the citie they sent out barges and boates to receive and bring such of the Nobilitie to land as would, but their horses for the most part, and all their armour they kept still within boord.

At length towards the evening the sea began to be rough, & increased to a great tempest and a mightie: insomuch that their ships were beaten one against anothers sides, and drowned there was of them at that tempest lying at anker more then 120. with all their armour and munition, with innumerable soules besides, and that wicked money also which they had taken before, likewise perished, and was lost.

But the tempest hurt not so much as one ship of prince Edwards, who had in number 13. nor yet had one man lost thereby, for that (as it may be presupposed) he consented not to the wicked counsell of the rest.

When in the morning the princes and kings came to

the sea side, and saw all their ships drowned, and saw their men and horses in great number cast upon the land drowned, they had full heaue hearts, as well they might, for of all their ships and mariners, which were in number 1500. besides the common souldiers, there was no more saved then the mariners of one onely ship, and they in this wise.

There was in that ship a good & wise Matrone, a Countesse or an Erles wife, who perceiuing the tempest to grow, & fearing her selfe, called to her the M. of the ship, & asked him whether in attempting to the shoare it were not possible to save themselves: he answered, that to save the ship it was impossible: howbeit the men that were therein by Gods helpe he doubted not. Then sayd the countesse, for the ship force no whit, save the soules therein, and have to thee double the value of the shippe: who immediatly hoising the sailes with all force, ran the shippe aground so nere the shore as was possible, so that with the vehemency of the weather & force he came withall, be brast the ship and saved all that was within the same, as he had shewed, and sayd before.

Then the kings and princes (altering their purpose after this so great a shipwracke) returned home againe every one unto their owne lands: onely Edward the sonne of the king of England, remained behinde with his men and ships, which the Lord had saved and preserved.

Then prince Edward renovating his purpose, tooke shipping againe, and within fifteene daies after Easter arrived he at Acra, and went aland, taking with him a thousand of the best souldiers and most expert, and taried there a whole moneth, refreshing both his men and horses, and that in this space he might learne and know the secrets of the land. After this he tooke with him sixe or seven thousand souldiers, and marched forward twenty miles from Acra, and tooke Nazareth, and those that he found there he slew, and afterward returned againe to Acra. But their enemies following after them, thinking to have set upon them at some streit or other advantage, were espied by the prince, and returning againe upon them gave a charge, and slew many of them, and the rest they put to flight.

After this, about Midsummer, when the prince had understanding that the Saracens began to gather at Cakow which was forty miles from Acra, he marching

thither, set upon them very carely in the morning, and slew of them more then a thousand, the rest he put to flight, and tooke rich spoiles, marching forward till they came to a castle named *Castrum peregrinorum*, situate upon the sea coast, and taried there that night, and the next day they returned againe toward Aera.

In the meane season the king of Jerusalem sent unto the noble men of Cyprus, desiring them to come with speed to ayd the Christians, but they would not come, saying they would keepe their owne land, and go no further. Then prince Edward sent unto them, desiring that at his request they would come and joyne in ayd with him: who immediatly thereupon came unto him with great preparation & furniture for the warres, saying, that at his commandement they were bound to do no lesse, for that his predecessors were sometimes the governors of that their land, and that they ought alwayes to shew their fidelity to the kings of England.

Then the Christians being herewith animated, made a third voyage or road, and came as farre as the fort called *Vincula sancti Petri*, and to *S. Georgius*, and when they had slain certaine there, not finding any to make resistance against them, they retired againe from whence they came: when thus the fame of prince Edward grew amongst his enemies, and that they began to stand in doubt of him, they devised among themselves how by some pollicy they might circumvent him, and betray him. Whereupon the prince and admirall of Joppa sent unto him, faining himselfe under great deceit willing to become a Christian, and that he would draw with him a great number besides, so that they might be honorably entertained and used of the Christians. This talke pleased the prince well, and perswaded him to finish the thing he had so well begun by writing againe, who also by the same messenger sent and wrote backe unto him divers times about the same matter, whereby no mistrust should spring.

This messenger (sayth mine author) was one *ex caute nutritis*, one of the stony hearted, that neither feared God nor dreaded death.

The fift time when this messenger came, and was of the princes servants searched according to the maner and custome what weapon and armour he had about him, as also his purse, that not so much as a knife could be seene

about him, he was had up into the princes chamber, and after his reverence done, he pulled out certaine letters, which he delivered the prince from his lord, as he had done others before. This was about eight dayes after Whitsuntide, upon a Tuesday, somewhat before night, at which time the prince was layed upon his bed bare headed, in his jerkin, for the great heat and intemperature of the weather.

When the prince had read the letters, it appeared by them, that upon the Saturday next following, his lord would be there ready to accomplish all that he had written and promised. The report of these newes by the prince to the standers by, liked them well, who drew somewhat backe to consult thereof amongst themselves. In the meane time, the messenger kneeling, and making his obeisance to the prince (questioning further with him) put his hand to his belt, as though he would have pulled out some secret letters, and suddenly he pulled out an invenomed knife, thinking to have stroken the prince into the belly therewith as he lay: but the prince lifting up his hand to defend the blow, was stricken a great wound into the arme, and being about to fetch another stroke at him, the prince againe with his foot tooke him such a blow, that he feld him to the ground: with that the prince gate him by the hand, and with such violence wrasted the knife from him, that he hurt himselfe therewith on the forehead, and immediatly thrust the same into the belly of the messenger and striker, and slew him.

The princes servants being in the next chamber not farre off, hearing the busling, came with great haste running in, and finding the messenger lying dead in the floore, one of them tooke up a stoole, and beat out his braines: whereat the prince was wroth for that he stroke a dead man, and one that was killed before.

But the rumour of this accident, as it was strange, so it went soone thorowout all the Court, and from thence among the common people, for which they were very heavy, and greatly discouraged. To him came also the Captaine of the Temple, and brought him a costly and precious drinke against poison, least the venime of the knife should penetrate the lively blood, and in blaming wise sayd unto him: did I not tell your Grace before of the deceit and subtilty of this people? Notwithstanding, sayd he, let your Grace take a good heart, you shall not

die of this wound, my life for yours. But straight way the Surgions and Physicians were sent for, and the prince was dressed, and within few dayes after, the wound began to putrifie, and the flesh to looke dead and blacke : whereupon they that were about the prince began to mutter among themselves, and were very sad and heavy.

Which thing he himself perceiving, said unto them : why mutter you thus among your selves? what see you in me, can I not be healed? tell me the trueth, be ye not afraide. Whereupon one sayd unto him, and it like your Grace you may be healed, we mistrust not, but yet it will be very painfull for you to suffer. May suffering (sayd he againe) restore health? yea sayth the other, on paine of losing my head. Then sayd the prince, I commit my selfe unto you, doe with me what you thinke good.

Then sayd one of the Physicians, is there any of your Nobles in whom your Grace reposeth special trust? to whom the prince answered Yea, naming certeine of the Noble men that stood about him. Then sayd the Physician to the two, whom the prince first named, the Lord Edmund, and the lord John Voisie, And doe you also faithfully love your Lord and Prince? Who answered both, Yea undoubtedly. Then sayth he, take you away this gentlewoman and lady (meaning his wife) and let her not see her lord and husband, till such time as I will you thereunto. Whereupon they tooke her from the princes presence, crying out, and wringing her hands. Then sayd they unto her, Be you contented good Lady & Madame, it is better that one woman should weepe a little while, then that all the realme of England should weepe a great season.

Then on the morrow they cut out all the dead and invenimed flesh out of the princes arme, and threw it from them, and sayd unto him : how cheereth your Grace, we promise you within these fifteene dayes you shall shew your selfe abroad (if God permit) upon your horsebacke, whole and well as ever you were. And according to the promise he made the prince, it came to passe, to the no little comfort and admiration of all his subjects.

When the great Souldan heard hereof, and that the prince was yet alive, he could scarcely beleeeve the same, and sending unto him three of his Nobles and Princes, excused himselfe by them, calling his God to witnesse that the same was done neither by him nor his consent.

Which princes and messengers standing aloofe off from the kings sonne, worshipping him, fell flat upon the ground: you (sayd the prince) do reverence me, but yet you love me not. But they understood him not, because he spake in English unto them, speaking by an Interpreter: neverthelesse he honourably entertained them, and sent them away in peace.

Thus when prince Edward had beene eightene moneths in Acra, he tooke shipping about the Assumption of our Lady, as we call it, returning homeward, and after seven weekes he arrived in Sicilia at Trapes, and from thence travailed thorow the middes of Apulia, till he came to Rome, where he was of the Pope honorably entertained.

From thence he came into France, whose fame and noble prowesse was there much bruted among the common people, and envied of the Nobility, especially of the earle of Chalons, who thought to have intrapped him and his company, as may appeare in the story: but Prince Edward continued foorth his journey to Paris, and was there of the French king honourably entertained: and after certaine dayes he went thence into Gascoine, where he taried till that he heard of the death of the king his father, at which time he came home, and was crowned king of England, in the yere of our Lord 1274.

The travaile of Robert Turneham.

ROBERT TURNEHAM FRANCISCAN, a notable professour of Divinity, was with great dignity Prior of the Colledge of his Order in the famous Mart towne of Linne, situate upon the river of Isis in Norfolke. Prince Edward surnamed the Long, the sonne of Henry the third, prepared his warlike voyage against the Saracens dwelling in Syria, in the yeere of our Lord, 1268. For the which expedition some earnest preacher was sought to stir up the peoples minds in the cause of religion. And this Turneham seemed to the Prince most worthy to performe that office: so that he being appointed as it were a standerd bearer, went into Syria with the English army, and performed his duety with good commendation. He flourished in the yeere of Christ 1280, setting foorth divers works under the same king Edward the first of that name after the Conquest.

This note following, concerning the aide and assistance of the English Marchants, given to King John the first of Portugal, for the winning of Ceut in Barbarie, which was the first occasion of all the Portugall discoveries, is taken out of Thomas Walsinghams Latine Chronicle. Anno 1415.

THIS yeere John the first king of Portugal, being principally assisted by the help of the English Marchants, and Almaines, overcame the Moores in the dominion of the King of Barbarie, putting many thousands of them to the sworde, and he tooke their Citie which was very mightie, seated upon the sea, which is called Ceut in their language.

The voyage of Macham an Englishman, wherein he first of any man, discovered the Iland of Madera, recorded verbatim in the Portugall historie, written by Anthonio Galvano.

IN the yeere 1344. King Peter the fourth of that name, rainging in Arragon, the Chronicles of his age, write, that about this time the Iland of Madera, standing in 32. degrees, was discovered by an Englishman, which was named Macham, who sayling out of England into Spaine, with a woman that he had stolne, arived by tempest in that Iland, and did cast anker in that haven or baye, which now is called Machico, after the name of Macham. And because his lover was sea sicke, he went on land with some of his companie, and the shippe with a good winde made saile away, and the woman died for thought. Macham, which loved her deerely, built a chappell, or heremitage, to bury her in, calling it by the name of Jesus, and caused his name and hers to be written or graven upon the stone of her tombe, and the occasion of their arrivall there: And afterward he ordained a boate made of one tree, (for there be trees of a great compasse about) and went to sea in it, with those men that he had, and were left behinde with him, and came upon the coast of Affricke, without saile or oare. And the Moores which sawe it, tooke it to be a marveilous thing, and presented him unto the King of that Countrey for a wonder, and that king also sent him and his companions for a miracle unto the King of Castile.

In the yeere 1395. King Henry the third of that name,

raigning in Castile, by the information which Macham gave of this Iland, and also the shippe of his companie, mooved many of France and Castile to goe and to discover it, and also the great Canaria, &c.

In the yeere 1417. King John the second, raigning in Castile, and his mother Ladie Katherine being Regent, one Monsieur Ruben of Bracamont, which was Admirall of France, demaunding the conquest of the Ilands of the Canaries, with the title of King, for a kinsman of his named Monsieur John Betancourt, after that the Queene had given him them, and holpen him, he departed from Sivil with a good armie. And they affirme also, that the principal cause which moved him to this, was to discover the Iland of Madera, which Macham had founde, &c. *ibidem* pag. 2. of Anthonio Galvano.

Anthony Beck bishop of Durisme was elected Patriarch of Hierusalem, and confirmed by Clement the fift bishop of Rome: in the 34 yere of Edward the first. Lelandus.

ANTHONY BECK was bishop of Durisme in the time of the reigne of Edward the first of that name after the invasion of William the great into England. This Anthony was elected patriarch of Jerusalem in the yeere of our Lord God 1305, and was confirmed by Clement the fift, pope of Rome. He was of greater magnificence then for the calling of a bishop. He founded also the castle of Acheland foure miles from Durisme, on the shore of a prety river called Unduglesme. He much beautified with new buildings Eltham mannor being nere unto Greenwich, and the castle Somaridune in the county of Lindsey. And lastly, he built new out of the ground the palace of London, which now is in the possession of prince Edward. Insomuch, that at length, through his over great magnificence and power he procured to himselfe great envy among the nobility, which he could not assuage during the rest of his life. But of this Anthony & of his writings we will speake more at large in our booke intituled of the Britain bishops. This Anthony finished his life in the yere of our Lord God 1310, and in the reigne of king Edward the second.

The voyage of Matthew Gourney, a most valiant English Knight, against the Moores of Algier in Barbarie and Spaine. M. Camden pag. 159.

It is by no meanes to be passed over in silence, that Matthew Gourney, being a most valiant Warriour in the reigne of Edward the third, lyeth buried at a certaine towne, in the countie of Somerset, commonly called Stoke under Hamden: who deceased in the 96. yeare of his age; and that (as it is manifest by the inscription of his monument) after he had valiantly behaved himselfe at the siege of Algizer against the Sarazens, and at the battailes of Benamazin, of Sluce, of Cressie, of Ingenos, of Poictou, and of Nazaran in Spaine.

The voyage of Henrie Earle of Derby, after Duke of Hereford, and lastly Henry the fourth king of England, to Tunis in Barbarie, with an army of Englishmen written by Polidore Virgill. pag. 1389.

THE French in the meane season having gotten some leasure by meanes of their truce, and being sollicitated and urged by the intreaties of the Genuois undertooke to wage warre against the Moores, who robbed and spoyled all the coasts of Italy, and of the Ilandes adjacent. Likewise Richard the second, king of England, being sued unto for ayde, sent Henry the Earle of Derby with a choice armie of English souldiers unto the same warfare. Wherefore the English and French, with forces and mindes united, sayled over into Africa, who when they approached unto the shore were repelled by the Barbarians from landing, untill such time as they had passage made them by the valour of the English archers. Thus having landed their forces, they forthwith marched unto the royall citie of Tunis, and besieged it. Whereat the Barbarians being dismayed, sent Ambassadors unto our Christian Chieftaines to treat of peace, which our men graunted unto them, upon condition that they should pay a certaine summe of money, and that they should from thencefoorth abstaine from piracies upon all the coasts of Italy and France. And so having dispatched their businesse, within a fewe moneths after their departure they returned home.

The Historie is somewhat otherwise recorded by Froysard and Holenshed in manner following, pag. 473.

IN the thirteenth yeere of the reigne of king Richard the second, the Christians tooke in hand a journey against the Saracens of Barbarie through sute of the Genouois, so that there went a great number of Lords, Knights, and Gentlemen of France and England, the Duke of Burbon being their Generall. Out of England there went John de Beaufort bastarde sonne to the Duke of Lancaster (as Froysard hath noted) also Sir John Russell, Sir John Butler, Sir John Harcourt and others. They set forward in the latter end of the thirteenth yeere of the Kings reigne, and came to Genoa, where they remayned not verie long, but that the gallies and other vessels of the Genouois were ready to passe them over into Barbarie. And so about midsomer in the begining of the foureteenth yere of this kings reigne the whole army being embarked, sailed forth to the coast of Barbary, where neere to the city of Africa they landed: at which instant the English archers (as the Chronicles of Genoa write) stood all the company in good stead with their long bowes, beating backe the enemies from the shore, which came downe to resist their landing. After they had got to land, they invironed the city of Africa (called by the Moores Mahdia) with a strong siege: but at length, constrained with the intemperancy of the scalding ayre in that hot countrey, breeding in the army sundry diseases, they fell to a composition upon certaine articles to be performed in the behalfe of the Saracens: and so 61 dayes after their arrivall there they tooke the seas againe, and returned home, as in the histories of France and Genoa is likewise expressed. Where, by Polydore Virgil it may seeme, that the lord Henry of Lancaster earle of Derby should be generall of the English men, that (as before you heard) went into Barbary with the French men and Genouois.

The memorable victories in divers parts of Italie of John Hawkwood English man in the reigne of Richard the second, briefly recorded by M. Camden, pag. 339.

Ad alteram ripam fluvii Colne oppositus est Sibble Heningham, locus natalis, ut accepi, Joannis Hawkwoodi

(Itali Aucuthum corruptè vocant) quem illi tantopere ob virtutem militarem suspexerunt, ut Senatus Florentinus propter insignia merita equestri statua & tumuli honore in eximiae fortitudinis, fideique testimonium ornavit. Res ejus gestas Itali pleno ore prædicant; & Paulus Jovius in elogiis celebrat: sat mihi sit Julii Feroldi tetrastichon adjicere.

Hawkwoode Anglorum decus, & decus addite genti
 Italicae, Italico presidiûmque solo,
 Ut tumuli quondam Florentia, sic simulachri
 Virtutem Jovius donat honore tuam.

William Thomas in his Historie of the common wealthes of Italy, maketh honorable mention of him twice, to wit, in the common wealth of Florentia and Ferrara.

The voyage of the Lord John of Holland, Earle of Huntington, brother by the mothers side to King Richard the second, to Jerusalem and Saint Katherins mount.

THE Lord John of Holland, Earle of Huntington, was as then on his way to Jerusalem, and to Saint Katherins mount, and purposed to returne by the Realme of Hungarie. For as he passed through France (where he had great cheere of the king, and of his brother and uncles) hee heard how the king of Hungary and the great Turke should have battell together: therefore he thought surely to be at that journey.

The voiage of Thomas lord Moubray duke of Norfolke to Jerusalem, in the yeere of our Lord 1399. written by Holinshed, pag. 1233.

THOMAS LORD MOUBRAY, second sonne of Elizabeth Segrave and John lord Moubray her husband, was advanced to the dukedome of Norfolke in the 21. yeere of ye reigne of Richard the 2. Shortly after which, hee was appealed by Henry earle of Bullingbroke of treason, and caried to the castle of Windsore, where he was strongly & safely garded, having a time of combate granted to determine the cause betweene the two dukes, the 16. day of September, in the 22. of the sayd king, being the yeere of our redemption 1398. But in the end the matter was so ordred, that this duke of Norfolke

was banished for ever: whereupon taking his journey to Jerusalem, he died at Venice in his returne from the said citie of Jerusalem, in the first yeere of king Henry the 4. about the yeere of our redemption, 1399.

The comming of the Emperor of Constantinople into England, to desire the aide of Henry the 4. against the Turkes, 1400.

ABOUT the same time the emperor of Constantinople came into England, to seeke ayde against the Turkes: whom ye king accompanied with his nobilitie, met withall upon Blackheath upon the day of saint Thomas the Apostle, and received him as beseemed so great a prince, and brought him to London, and roially entertained him for a long season, defraying the charges of his diet, and giving him many honorable presents. And a litle afterward: Upon the hearing of these newes, the emperor departed with great joy out of England, whom the king honoured with many precious gifts.

The voiage of the bishop of Winchester to Jerusalem, in the sixt yeere of the reigne of Henry the fift, which was the yeere of our Lord, 1417. Thomas Walsing.

THE last day of October the bishop of Winchester came to the Councell of Constance, which after the chusing of the Pope determined to take his journey to Jerusalem: where his eloquent perswasion so much prevailed, that he both perswaded my lords the Cardinals to unity and concord, and also moved them to proceed more speedily to the election of the Pope.

A preparation of a voyage of King Henrie the fourth to the Holy land against the infidels in the yere 1413, being the last yere of his reigne: wherein he was prevented by death: written by Walsingham, Fabian, Polydore Virgile, and Holenshed.

IN this foureteenth and last yere of king Henries reigne a councell was holden in the White friers in London, at the which among other things, order was taken for ships and gallies to be builded and made ready, and all other things necessary to be provided for a voyage, which he meant to make into the Holy land, there to recover the city of Jerusalem from the infidels: for it grieved him to consider the great malice of Christian princes, that were

bent upon a mischievous purpose to destroy one another, to the perill of their owne soules, rather then to make warre against the enemies of the Christian faith, as in conscience, it seemed to him, they were bound. We finde, sayeth Fabian in his Chronicle, that he was taken with his last sicknesse, while he was making his prayers at Saint Edwards shrine, there as it were, to take his leave, and so to proceede forth on his journey. He was so suddenly and grievously taken, that such as were about him feared least he would have died presently: wherefore to relieve him, if it were possible, they bare him into a chamber, that was next at hand, belonging to the Abbot of Westminster, where they layd him on a pallet before the fire, and used all remedies to revive him. At length he recovered his speech, and perceiving himselfe in a strange place which he knew not, he willed to knowe if the chamber had any particular name, whereunto answere was made, that it was called Jerusalem. Then sayde the king, Laudes be given to the father of heaven: for now I knowe that I shall die here in this chamber, according to the prophesie of mee declared, that I should depart this life in Jerusalem.

Afterward, King Henry, calling to minde, that nothing ought to be more highly esteemed by any man, then to doe the utmost of his indeavour for the performance of justice, which tendeth to the good and bechite of mankinde; altogether abandoning civill warre (wherewith he was ashamed to see, how Christians at all times were dishonourably busied) entered into a more deepe consideration of well governing his Realme of England, of waging warre against the common enemy, and of recovering, in processe of time, the citie of Jerusalem, yea, and was providing a navie for the same purpose, whenas in the very midst of this his heroicall action and enterprise, he was surpris'd with death: for falling into a sudden disease, he could not be cured by any kinde of physicke. He deceased at Westminster in the 46 yeare of his age, which was in the yeere of our Lord, 1413.

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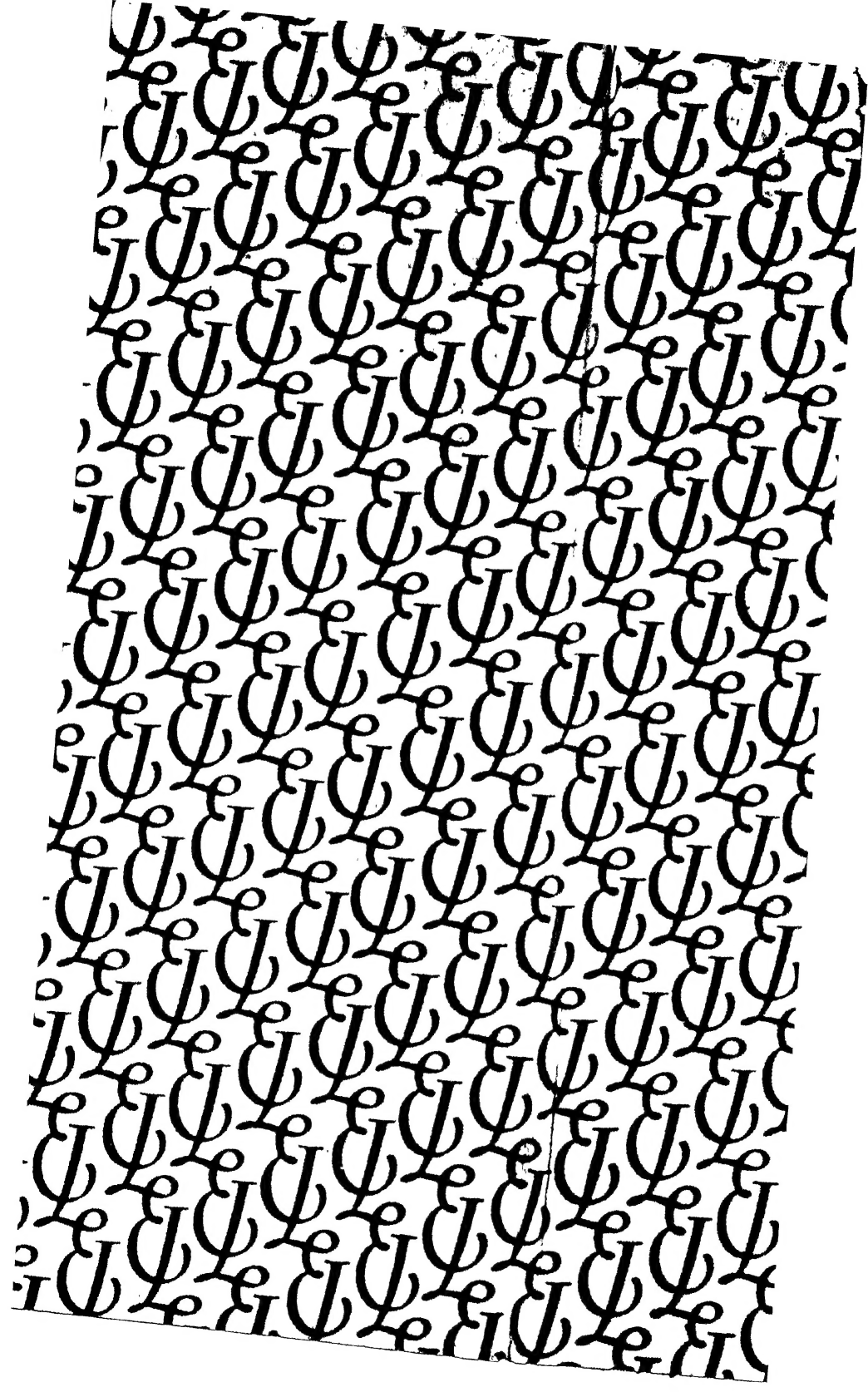
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